

HALF HOURS WITH AMERICAN HISTORY

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HALF-HOURS

WITH

AMERICAN HISTORY.

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY

CHARLES MORRIS,

AUTHOR OF "A MANUAL OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE," AND "HALF-HOURS WITH
THE BEST AMERICAN AUTHORS."

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

SECTION VII.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

SUBJECT.	AUTHOR.	PAGE
The Capture of Long Island and New York.	J. D. STEELE	19
The Victory at Trenton	HENRY B. CARRINGTON	27
The Capture of Philadelphia	CHARLES BOTTA	38
The Expedition against Fort Schuyler	BENSON J. LOSSING	48
The Surrender of Burgoyne	SIR EDWARD S. CREASY	60
Washington at Valley Forge	WASHINGTON IRVING	73
Franklin in France	JARED SPARKS	82
The Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis.	JAMES FENIMORE COOPER	94
The Treason of Arnold	JARED SPARKS	106
The Cowpens and Guilford Court-House	GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE	117
The Surrender of Cornwallis	ABIEL HOLMES	127

SECTION VIII.

THE UNION FOUNDED AND SUSTAINED.

The Army and Country after the War	JOHN MARSHALL	136
The Making of the Constitution	RICHARD FROTHINGHAM	147
The Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylv-		
ania	JOHN C. HAMILTON	161
The Pioneer of Kentucky	JOHN S. C. ABBOTT	169
War with the Western Indians	JAMES STEWARD	180
The Purchase of Louisiana	JOHN BACH McMASTER	189
Stephen Decatur and the Frigate Phila-		
delphia	JAMES FENIMORE COOPER	201
The Chesapeake Affair and the Embargo	JAMES SCHOULER	212
Two Years of War	CHARLES MORRIS	221
The Constitution and the Guerriere	JOEL T. HEADLEY	226
Perry's Victory on Lake Erie	THEODORE ROOSEVELT	234
The Battle of the Thames	CHARLES J. INGERSOLL	243

SUBJECT.	AUTHOR.	PAGE
The Charge at Lundy's Lane	H. M. BRACKENRIDGE	248
The Capture and Burning of Washington.	BENSON J. LOSSING	260
The Defence of New Orleans	GEORGE R. GLEIG	272

SECTION IX.

THE PROGRESS OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

The First Quarter of the Century	CHARLES MORRIS	286
The Missouri Compromise	HERMAN E. VON HOLST	305
The Ordinance of Nullification	EDWARD EVERETT	317
The Seminole War	GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS	328
The Battle of Buena Vista	JOHN FROST	337
Events Preceding the Civil War	CHARLES MORRIS	350

SECTION X.

THE ERA OF CIVIL WAR.

John Brown and the Raid upon Harper's Ferry	HORACE GREELEY	363
Fort Sumter Bombarded	ORVILLE J. VICTOR	372
The Monitor and the Merrimack	JOHN W. DRAPER	383
The Conflict at Antietam	BENSON J. LOSSING	392
The Battle of Shiloh	WILLIAM SWINTON	407
Farragut on the Mississippi	JOEL T. HEADLEY	426
The Siege of Vicksburg	ADAM BADEAU	436
Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.	THOMAS B. VAN HORNE	452
Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg	COMTE DE PARIS	467
Sherman's March to the Sea	WILLIAM T. SHERMAN	482
The Last March of Lee's Army	ARMISTEAD L. LONG	500
Review of Recent History	CHARLES MORRIS	520

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SECTION VII.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE important action taken by the Continental Congress in the passage of the Declaration of Independence was received with enthusiasm by the people of the newly-created United States of America. On the 8th of July the independence of the country was proclaimed with great solemnity at Philadelphia, and welcomed by the people with the greatest exultation, artillery being fired, bonfires kindled, and other manifestations of joy displayed. It was read to the army in New York on the 11th, and was received by them with wild acclamations. That evening the statue of King George, which had been erected in 1770, was dragged through the streets by a party of soldiers, and a resolution taken to convert into bullets the lead of which it was made. This riotous proceeding was severely rebuked by Washington.

In Baltimore independence was proclaimed amid the roar of artillery, while the effigy of the king became the sport of the populace, and was afterwards burned in the public square. In Boston the rejoicings of the people surpassed those in any other section of the country. Independence was there proclaimed from the balcony of the State-House, in the presence of all the authorities and of a great concourse of people. Salutes were fired, the troops paraded, the bells were rung, and the people went wild with joy, in their excitement tearing to pieces and burning all the ensigns of royalty. A banquet was prepared for the authorities and the principal inhabitants, at which toasts were drunk to the destruction of tyrants, the propagation of liberty, and a series of similar sentiments. In Virginia great enthusiasm also prevailed, and the convention passed a number of acts designed to remove every vestige of royalty from the public proceedings of the commonwealth.

The passage of this declaration entailed new duties upon the people, which would exhaust their powers, legislative and military, for years to come. A new government had to be formed, on a plan which had never before been applied to a country of such extent, and which involved innumerable difficulties. And the independence declared by the legislature had to be sustained by the army against all the power of the richest and most energetic nation of the Europe of that day. Some consideration of the steps taken towards the accomplishment of these purposes is important as preliminary to the story of the subsequent events of the war.

The resolution of independence had abolished one phase of political existence; it had not created a new phase. A nation was yet to be made out of the discordant elements of the separate colonies. And to this essential purpose

Congress at once addressed itself. The tie which had hitherto held together the colonies was slight and temporary. It needed to be made strong and permanent. Articles of confederation satisfactory to all the States of the newly-formed republic needed to be adopted ere the American Union could claim the title of a nation.

A committee was at once appointed by Congress to frame such articles. A report was made by this committee on the 12th of July. On the 22d the House began the consideration of the proposed articles, the principal subjects of debate being the proportion of money which each State should pay into the common treasury, and the manner of voting in Congress. The financial article, as proposed, required each State to pay into the treasury a sum in proportion to its total population, exclusive of untaxed Indians. This was objected to on the plea that it included slaves, who, properly considered, were property and not persons, and that Southern slaves had no more right to be considered in fixing the tax-rate than Northern cattle. John Adams took the opposite view, with the argument that slaves by their labor added to the wealth of the States, and that they had always been taken into the estimates of taxes by the Southern provinces. The question was carried, on this basis, by the votes of the Northern delegates, who were in a majority. The other article which led to prolonged debate was that concerning the voting power of the States in Congress. The original report provided that each colony should have but one vote. Mr. Chase proposed as a compromise that on financial questions each State should have a voice in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. Franklin supported this proposition, saying that if the States voted equally they ought to pay equally. Dr. Witherspoon contended that each State should be considered as an individual, with a

single vote on all matters. John Adams, on the contrary, advocated voting in proportion to numbers. He held that the individuality of the States was a mere word; it was the purpose of the Confederacy to weld them, like separate pieces of metal, into one common mass. Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, ably followed from the same point of view, bringing European illustrations to show the danger of giving too much separate independence to the members of a confederated union. Thus early was brought up that burning question of State Rights, as opposed to the supremacy of the Union, which has not yet been definitely settled.

The debate on the Articles of Confederation was continued for several months, and the whole subject thoroughly canvassed, standing committees of Congress meanwhile carrying on the active affairs of the government. During this period the several States, in conformity with the act previously passed by Congress, busied themselves in organizing State governments suitable to the new condition of affairs. Not for a moment was any thought of reproducing a monarchical government entertained. The people of America had been republican in sentiment from the first, and their political history had been in great part a struggle to reduce the prerogatives of the monarch who claimed them as subjects. So much power had been exercised by the people and their representatives, and so well were they schooled in the art of self-government, that the change of sovereignty was scarcely perceptible, and very little needed to be added to existing conditions to form a complete apparatus of government.

The people were not willing that any one man should have the authority to negative the decision of a majority of their representatives. Yet long experience had taught them that it would be dangerous to lodge all power in the

hands of a single body of men. Some intermediate course was desirable, and after much discussion the difficulty was overcome by the formation, in eleven out of the thirteen colonies, of a legislature of two branches, whose concurrence should be necessary to the passage of any law. The second branch was to consist of a few select persons, under the name of senate, or council, adapted to consider wisely and calmly the acts passed by the more numerous branch of representatives. Georgia and Pennsylvania alone adopted legislatures consisting of a single House.

New York and Massachusetts went a step further. The former gave to a council composed of the governor and the heads of judicial departments, and the latter to the governor alone, the power of objecting to any proposed law and requiring its reconsideration and passage by a two-thirds majority of both Houses to make it operative. The objection in Georgia and Pennsylvania to a double Assembly arose from the difficulty of creating a higher and a lower branch by election from a homogeneous people held to be absolutely equal politically. No distinction of rank existed, and distinction of wealth was not admitted as a source of political inequality. Ten of the eleven States, with legislatures of two branches, ordained the election of both by the people. Maryland had her senate chosen by electors, two from each county, elected by the people, the senators to hold their seats for five years, while the representatives were re-elected annually. By this means a senate composed of men of influence and ability was obtained. Pennsylvania adopted the expedient of publishing bills after the second reading, so that they might be considered by the people and the sense of the inhabitants taken. It was not long, however, before it was discovered that this expedient was injudicious, and that the single chamber did not work well. A second

chamber was therefore added. A similar action was afterwards taken by Georgia.

Every State appointed a supreme executive, under the title either of governor or president. In New York and the Eastern States the governors were elected directly by the people; in the other States, by the legislatures. New York alone gave the governor the right to act without the advice of a council. The jealousy of supreme power was so great among the Americans that they surrounded their executive officers with checks that proved, in the end, more cumbrous than useful. The principle of rotation in office was strongly insisted upon, frequent elections being required, and in some cases it being ordained that no office should be held by the same person longer than a specified period of time. As a further security for the permanence of republican institutions, all the States agreed in prohibiting hereditary honors or distinctions of rank. They all, moreover, abolished state religions. Some retained a constitutional distinction between Christians and others, so far as the power of holding office was concerned, but no sect was permitted legislative precedence, and the alliance between church and state was completely broken.

While the States were thus adopting new constitutions and organizing new governments, whose imperfections were negatived by the important feature that the people retained the power of altering and amending them whenever they chose, the General Congress continued the consideration of the Articles of Confederation which were to combine these separate States into a single nation. The debate upon this was very deliberately conducted, and sixteen months elapsed before it was ready to be communicated to the States. Three years more elapsed ere it was ratified by all the States. The principal objections were those which had already been abundantly debated in

Congress, and that of the disposal of the vacant Western lands. This latter question was finally settled by the cession of these lands, by the States which claimed them, to the Union, for the common good of the people. The suffrage-difficulty was overcome by viewing the States as individuals and giving them equality of votes. The last State to ratify the Articles of Confederation was Maryland, on March 1, 1781. The principal powers of Congress, as defined by this agreement, were—the sole right of deciding on peace and war, of sending and receiving ambassadors, of forming treaties and alliances, of regulating coinage, of fixing the standard of weights and measures, of managing Indian affairs, of establishing post-offices, of borrowing money or issuing bills on the credit of the United States, of raising an army through requisitions upon the States, and of forming a navy. It constituted also the final court of appeal in disputes between the States.

This system, though suitable to the conditions then existing, was destined to prove inadequate to the political requirements of the country after peace had succeeded to war. The confederation was little more than a league of friendship between the States. While investing Congress with many of the powers of sovereignty, it left it destitute of all means to enforce its decrees, the States retaining important powers which properly belonged to the central government. Not many years had passed after the termination of the war before it appeared that a radical change in the whole system was necessary for the proper government of the nation. Yet the Articles of Confederation sufficed to hold the States together till the conflict had ended, and the wisdom of American legislators could be applied to the important duty of organizing a stable union, in which the relations of the State and the national governments would be properly adjusted, and the American

theory of local control of local affairs, and of national control of general affairs, could be carried out in all the complex details of the existence of a great confederated nation.

As for the means through which the declared independence was to be consummated, and the opposing means through which England hoped to reduce her revolted colonies to obedience, there were discouraging circumstances on both sides. We have already adverted to the difficulties experienced by Washington in making an army out of the intractable materials placed in his hands, and of the inconvenience arising from the short terms of enlistment of the men. There were other disheartening conditions. An officer who at that time wrote to a member of Congress presented a deplorable picture of the state of the army: "Almost every villany that can disgrace the man, the soldier, or the citizen is daily practised, without meeting the punishment they merit. So many of our officers want honor, and so many of our soldiers want virtue, civil, social, and military, that nothing but the severest punishments will keep both from practices that must ruin us. . . . Our men are at present only robbers; that they will soon be murderers, unless some are hanged, I have no doubt." This is the testimony of a patriotic American, and it is confirmed by other statements.

It was evident that a total change in the military system of the country was requisite. Many of the soldiers were enlisted for a few months, and none for more than a year, and they had no time to learn the business of war. The enthusiasm of the militia quickly died out, as it necessarily always does, and it was remarked by a member of Congress that the Americans had lost most of that virtue which first drew them to the field, and were sinking into an army of mercenaries. They received so little pay, and were so ill provided with the necessaries of life, that there

was some excuse for their acts of plundering. Yet these acts were of serious dimensions. Washington spoke of them as infamous, and said that no man was secure in his effects, and scarcely in his person. Yet he found it impossible to reduce the soldiers to subordination, under existing circumstances. He did his utmost to rouse Congress to the importance of long enlistments, but such was the dread of a standing army that these demands were as yet unheeded. Congress, indeed, discouraged the formation of martial habits, and required that frequent furloughs should be granted, "rather than that the endearments of wives and children should cease to allure the individuals of our army from camps to farms." This was no way to make an army, as the law-makers were destined to discover. Shortly before the evacuation of New York by General Washington, it was resolved, against considerable opposition, to reorganize the army in eighty-eight battalions, to be made up of men enlisted for the war. A quota was assigned to each State, and, to encourage enlistments, a bounty of twenty dollars and one hundred acres of land was given to every recruit, with higher bounties to officers. A new set of rules for the discipline of the army was at the same time adopted. It had become evident that a regular army must be formed if success were desired.

Yet the raising of these new levies proceeded with discouraging slowness, and meanwhile affairs were going from bad to worse. One expedient adopted by Congress was an attempt to seduce the Hessian troops from the British service by the offer of large bounties in land. Yet the condition of American affairs after the loss of New York was calculated to render all these efforts nugatory. When Washington reached the western shore of the Delaware, after his retreat through New Jersey, the fortunes of the United States were at a very low ebb. The army was

greatly reduced in numbers, and the term of all its members would end within a month. Indications looked towards its complete disbandment, and a hopeless yielding of the colonies to the power against which they had rebelled.

Washington's success at Trenton radically changed this depressing state of affairs. The cruelty of the British and the Hessians had aroused the people of the occupied regions to bitter hatred, and as the Continental army gradually regained possession of the State of New Jersey, confidence returned, and the depleted ranks were filled up with new levies. From that time forward the American forces became an army more than in name, and the fortunes of the United States never again sank to so low an ebb.

While these difficulties existed in America, England had not been without her troubles. The doings of the ministry had from the first roused a powerful opposition in Parliament, and the Earl of Chatham, in particular, arraigned the government for injustice to the colonies, deprecated the attempt to reduce them by force, and demanded a complete removal of the oppressive acts which had driven the loyal colonists to rebellion. He was of opinion that this course would bring them back to their allegiance; but in this he misjudged the sentiments of the Americans, as was proved when the ministry afterwards sent out commissioners to treat with Congress and the colonies on the basis of a redress of grievances. Neither Congress nor the people of the States would listen to their proposals, and they were forced to return without achieving their purpose.

America could be reduced only by force, and this force proved difficult to obtain. The service was not popular, and recruiting for the American war went on very slowly.

The British government, hampered by this circumstance, looked abroad for aid, offering its money for the men of other states. Its great hope was in Russia, whose empress had made some friendly remarks about England which were construed into a readiness to furnish troops. An application for twenty thousand infantry was made, and so sure was the British ministry of obtaining them that there was sent to Carleton, in Canada, an assurance of speedy reinforcements. But the empress Catherine had meant nothing of the kind, and she bluntly declined to hire out her soldiers as mercenaries. Her refusal was so expressed as to give great offence to George III., who found himself now obliged to depend on the German principalities for aid. He also considered the project of rousing the Highlanders of North Carolina and the loyalists of the Middle and Southern provinces.

In the latter part of 1775 the situation of England was a grave one. The opponents in Parliament to the action of the ministry were numerous, and comprised some of the foremost men in that body. The military position of the country was still worse. Twenty-eight thousand sailors and fifty thousand soldiers had been asked for; but these were insufficient for the purposes required, and a bill enabling the king to call out the militia, to use in America, was passed.

Yet the need of soldiers was immediate, and application was made to various Continental powers, among them Holland, where a so-called Scottish brigade had existed since early in the seventeenth century. But Holland refused the use of this body, except for employment in Europe. This George III. declined. He had, indeed, obtained assistance from another quarter. Contracts had been made for the enlistment of soldiers in some of the petty German states. These were in part secret, but open

negotiations were carried on with the Duke of Brunswick and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. The subjects of these magnates were bought like so many cattle, it being arranged with the duke that every soldier killed should be paid for at the rate of the levy-money, and that three wounded should be reckoned as one killed. An annual subsidy was to be paid.

The German troops obtained in this discreditable manner numbered seventeen thousand men. Of these Hesse-Cassel supplied twelve thousand, and Brunswick and other petty states the remainder. The affair was a disgraceful one on both sides, and aroused indignation throughout Europe. Frederick the Great, a man not over-scrupulous in his own measures, viewed it as an abominable traffic in human lives, and it is said that whenever any of these hirelings passed through his territory he levied on them the usual toll for cattle, saying that they had been sold as such.

Many in England entertained a similar feeling; yet the treaties were ratified by large majorities in Parliament, and these disgracefully-obtained troops were shipped to America. There the proceeding was viewed with the utmost indignation, and served to increase the bitterness and determination of the colonists, whose rebellious energy was greatly added to by the means thus taken to overcome it, and particularly by the measures employed to bring the Indians into the conflict in support of the British cause. Such was the state of affairs in America and England at the period at which we have now arrived. In the Declaration of Independence America had flung the gauntlet of defiance at the feet of the British government, and both sides prepared for a stern continuance of the war.

THE CAPTURE OF LONG ISLAND AND NEW YORK.

J. D. STEELE.

[Shortly after the evacuation of Boston, Washington led his army to New York, which he feared might be assailed. Sir Henry Clinton soon after appeared off Sandy Hook with his fleet, but, finding the place guarded, he sailed south, where he met Sir Peter Parker with a large fleet. The conjoined fleets now sailed to Charleston, the entrance to whose harbor was defended by Fort Sullivan, a rudely-built log fortification, which General Lee declared to be a mere "slaughter-pen," and which he was anxious to have abandoned. But the Carolinians boldly determined to hold it. On the 28th of June the British ships opened a terrible fire upon it. But the porous, spongy palmetto logs received the balls without injury, while the fire of the fort riddled the ships and swept their decks. Early in the battle the flag was struck down by a ball which severed the shaft. In a moment Sergeant Jasper leaped over the breastworks, seized the flag, which had fallen on the ground outside, tied it to a sponge-shaft, and hoisted it again to its place. The battle ended in the fleet's being so shattered that it was forced to withdraw. The colonists were overjoyed at the result of this their first encounter with the "mistress of the seas." The gallantly-defended fort was re-named Fort Moultrie, in honor of its brave commander.]

The defeated fleet sailed north, and met at Staten Island the fleet of General Howe from Halifax and that of Admiral Howe from England. They had on board a large army, partly made up of Hessian mercenaries, who had been bargained for by the British ministry and handed over as slaves by their impecunious rulers to aid in subduing the revolted colonies. It was designed, with this fleet and army, to assail and capture New York.

We select a description of the succeeding events from Dr. J. D. Steele's condensed but attractively-written work entitled "*Barnes's Popular History of the United States.*"]

AFTER the evacuation of Boston, Washington thought that probably the British would next try to seize New York, both on account of its commercial importance and

the strong tory element in that vicinity. He therefore, soon after, came to that city. The most vigorous preparations were made to complete the fortifications, already begun by General Charles Lee. Troops were enlisted for three years, and a bounty of ten dollars offered to encourage recruiting. About twenty-seven thousand men were finally collected. Little over half of these were fit for duty. One regiment, we read, had only ninety-seven firelocks and seven bayonets. The officers, many of whom were grossly incompetent, wrangled about precedence. The soldiers mistook insubordination for independence. Sectional jealousies prevailed to such a degree that a letter of that time reports that the Pennsylvania and New England troops were quite as ready to fight each other as the enemy.

The 1st of July, General Howe arrived at Staten Island from Halifax. Soon after, he was joined by his brother, Admiral Howe, from England, and Clinton, from the defeat of Fort Moultrie. They had thirty thousand men, admirably disciplined and equipped; among them about eight thousand of the dreaded Hessians. The fleet, consisting of ten ships-of-the-line, twenty frigates, and four hundred ships and transports, was moored in the bay, ready to co-operate. Parliament had authorized the Howes to treat with the insurgents. By proclamation they accordingly offered pardon for all who would return to their allegiance. This document was published by direction of Congress, that the people might see what England demanded. An officer was then sent to the American camp with a letter addressed to "George Washington, Esq." Washington refused to receive it. The address was afterward changed to "George Washington, &c. &c." The messenger endeavored to show that this bore any meaning which might be desired. But Washington utterly refused

any communication which did not distinctly recognize his position as commander-in-chief of the American army. Lord Howe was evidently desirous of a restoration of peace. He solicited an interview with Franklin, an old-time friend; but events had gone too far. England would not grant independence, and the colonies would accept nothing less. War must settle the question.

It was not till the last of August that Clinton crossed over the Narrows to Long Island. Brooklyn was fortified by a series of intrenchments and forts extending from Gowanus Bay to Wallabout. Here were stationed about nine thousand men, under Generals Sullivan and Stirling. About two and a half miles south was a range of wooded heights traversed by three roads along which the British could advance; one leading up directly from the Narrows and Gravesend to Gowanus Bay, a second from Flatbush, and a third, the Jamaica road, cutting through the hills by the Bedford and the Jamaica passes. General Greene, who was intimately acquainted with the ground, being unfortunately sick, General Putnam was hastily sent over to take charge of the defence. General Stirling and General Sullivan occupied the heights, but, by a fatal oversight, the Jamaica road was unguarded. The English were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity.

On the eve of the 26th, General Clinton, with Percy and Cornwallis, crossed the narrow causeway called Shoemaker's Bridge, over a marsh near New Lots,—where, it is said, a single regiment could have barred the way,—and before daylight had seized the Bedford and Jamaica passes, while the Americans were yet unconscious of his having left Flatlands. Meanwhile General Grant moved forward along the coast, on the direct road, from the Narrows up to the hills at present embraced in Greenwood Cemetery. Here there was considerable skirmishing, but Stirling held

him in check. Clinton, pushing down from the hills, now fell upon the American left, at Bedford. The sound of cannon in their rear filled the Americans with dismay. At that moment De Heister, with the Hessians, who had already begun to skirmish on the Flatbush road, stormed Sullivan's position. Retreat was the patriots' only hope. It was, however, too late. Caught between the Hessians and the British, they were driven to and fro, cut down by the dragoons, or bayoneted without mercy by the Hessians and the Highlanders, who listened to no plea for quarter. Some took to the rocks and trees and sold their lives as dearly as they could; some broke through and escaped, pursued by the grenadiers to the American lines at Fort Putnam; the rest were captured.

Cornwallis hurried on with his corps to close in upon General Stirling, who was yet unaware of the disaster upon his left, at the same time firing two guns as a signal for Grant to attack the front. Stirling, with a part of Smallwood's regiment, composed of the sons of the best families of Maryland, turned upon this unexpected foe in his rear, determined by a heroic sacrifice to give the rest a chance for escape. He accomplished his design; all his companions crossed Gowanus Creek in safety; but he himself was captured, and two hundred and fifty-nine of the Marylanders lay dead on the field. Washington beheld the fight from a neighboring hill, and, wringing his hands in agony, exclaimed, "What brave fellows I must lose this day!"

It was a sad augury for the Republic which had just issued its Declaration of Independence. The British loss was but four hundred, and the American nearly two thousand. Of the latter, one thousand, who were with Generals Sullivan and Stirling, were prisoners. The higher officers were soon exchanged, but the hard lot of the pri-

vates and lower officers made the fate of those who perished in battle to be envied. Numbers were confined in the sugar-house and the old hulks at Wallabout, where afterward so many other American prisoners suffered untold agonies. Here, festering with disease, perishing with famine, and loathsome with filth, deprived of fresh air, water, and every necessary of life, eleven thousand Americans, it is said, found an untimely grave ere the war was over.

Had Howe attacked the works at Brooklyn immediately, the Americans would probably have been utterly destroyed. Fortunately, he delayed for the fleet to co-operate; but an adverse wind prevented. For two days the patriots lay helpless, awaiting the assault. On the second night after the battle there was a dense fog on the Brooklyn side, while in New York the weather was clear. A little before midnight, the Americans moved silently down to the shore and commenced to cross the river, near what is now the Fulton Ferry. Everything was planned with Washington's peculiar precision. The guards, sentinels, and outer lines were ordered to remain quietly at their posts till the very last, that the enemy might suspect no movement. The stifled murmur of the camp, as each man took his place in silence for the march to the river-side, gradually died away in the distance. Suddenly the roar of a cannon burst upon the night-air. "The effect," says an American who was present, "was at once alarming and sublime. If the explosion was within our own lines, the gun was probably discharged in the act of spiking it, and could have been no less a matter of speculation to the enemy than to ourselves." The mystery of that midnight gun remains still unexplained. Fortunately, it failed to rouse the British camp. Startled by this unexpected *contre-temps*, the men reached the shore. Washington, feeling

the urgent necessity for despatch, sent one of his aides-de-camp to hurry up the troops in march. By mistake he gave the order to all who had been left behind. In the midst of embarrassment and confusion at the ferry, caused by the change of tide and of wind, which beat back the sail-boats, the whole rear-guard arrived. "Good God, General Mifflin!" cried Washington, "I fear you have ruined us by so unseasonably withdrawing the troops from the advance lines." Mifflin somewhat warmly explained that he had only followed orders. "It is a dreadful mistake," exclaimed Washington; "and unless you can regain the picket-lines before your absence is discovered, the most disastrous consequences may follow." Mifflin hastened back, but again the dense fog and Providence had favored them, so that, though nearly an hour had intervened, the desertion of their posts had not been noticed by the enemy. At length their own time came, and the last boat pulled from the shore. The strain of the night was over, and the army was saved. "What with the greatness of the stake, the darkness of the night, the uncertainty of the design, and the extreme hazard of the issue," says one, "it would be difficult to conceive a more deeply solemn scene than had transpired."

This timely deliverance moved every pious American heart to profoundest gratitude, for if once the English fleet had moved up the East River and cut off communication between New York and Brooklyn, nothing could have saved the army from capture. Howe, not supposing an escape possible, had taken no precautions against such an event. It is said that a tory woman sent her negro servant to inform the British of the movements of the patriot army, but he fell into the hands of the Hessians, who, not understanding a word of English, kept him until morning. After daybreak, and the fog had lifted, a Brit-

ish captain, with a handful of men, stealthily crept down through the fallen trees, and, crawling over the intrenchments, found them deserted. A troop of horse hurried to the river and captured the last boat, manned by three vagabonds who had stayed behind for plunder.

[Washington, conscious of his weakness, wished to evacuate the city, but Congress would not consent. During the interval Captain Nathan Hale, of Connecticut, visited the English camp as a spy, and was arrested on his way back by a tory relative, and handed over to Howe, who executed him the next morning.]

Having occupied Buchanan's and Montross's Islands, now Ward's and Randall's, Clinton, with a heavy body of troops, crossed the East River under the fire of the fleet early Sunday morning, September 15, and landed at Kip's Bay, at the foot of the present Thirty-Fourth Street. The American troops at this point fled from the intrenchments. It was all-important that the position should be held, as Putnam was in the city below with four thousand men, and time must be gained for them to escape. Washington came galloping among the fugitives and rallied them. But when two- or threescore red-coats came in sight, they broke again without firing a shot, and scattered in the wildest terror. Losing all self-command at the sight of such cowardice, Washington dashed forward toward the enemy, exclaiming, "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America?" General Greene writes of this scene, that the poltroons "left his Excellency on the ground, within eighty yards of the enemy, so vexed at the infamous conduct of his troops that he sought death rather than life." He might, indeed, have fallen into the hands of the British, so overcome was he by the dastardly conduct of his soldiers, had not an aide-de-camp seized his horse by the bridle and hurried him away. Rallying his

self-possession, Washington hastened to look after the safety of the rest of his army. It was a moment of extreme peril. Fortunately, on landing, Howe, Clinton, and some others called at the house of Robert Murray for refreshments. The owner, who was a Quaker, was absent, but his wife, a stanch whig, regaled them with such an abundance of cake and wine, and listened with such admirable attention to their humorous descriptions of her countrymen's panic, that their appetite and vanity got the better of their judgment and kept them long at her delightful entertainment. Meanwhile, Putnam was hurrying his men along the Bloomingdale road, not a mile distant, under a burning sun, through clouds of dust, and liable at any moment to be raked by the fire of the English ships anchored in the Hudson. Thanks to the wit of the good Mrs. Murray, the British troops came up only in time to send a few parting shots at their rear-guard. Washington collected his army on Harlem Heights.

That night the wearied troops lay on the open ground, in the midst of a cold, driving rain, without tent or shelter. Anxious to encourage his disheartened men, Washington, the same evening, ordered Silas Talbot, in charge of a fire-ship in the Hudson, to make a descent upon the English fleet. Accordingly, this brave captain, dropping down with the tide, steered his vessel alongside the *Renommé*. Stopping to grapple his antagonist surely, and to make certain of firing the trains of powder, he was himself fearfully burned before he could drop into the water. It was an awful scene. The British ships poured their broadsides upon his little boat as he was rapidly rowed away, while huge billows of flame bursting out from the fire-ship lighted up the fleet and the harbor with terrible distinctness. From every side boats put off to the rescue of the endangered vessel, which was finally brought safely

away. But the entire British fleet slipped their moorings and quitted the stream.

[Shortly after the entrance of the British into New York a fire broke out which destroyed five hundred houses and reduced their hopes of warm winter-quarters. Washington fortified himself on Harlem Heights. But his army was in a deplorable state, and on the verge of dissolution, the term of service of the men being nearly expired, while they were so disheartened as to desert by hundreds, whole regiments returning home. Howe made an effort to get into the rear of the Americans, which his watchful foe negatived by a hasty retreat to White Plains. Here the British made an attack, resulting in a minor advantage. Soon afterwards Washington retreated to the heights of North Castle, and after a short interval crossed with his main body to the Highlands, being apprehensive that the British might invade New Jersey and perhaps seek to capture Philadelphia.]

THE VICTORY AT TRENTON.

HENRY B. CARRINGTON.

[The withdrawal of Washington to the Highlands left the garrisons at Forts Mifflin and Red Bank in a position of great insecurity. General Greene had persisted in retaining the garrison in Fort Mifflin, and had induced Congress to order its continued occupation, despite the remonstrances of Washington. The result justified the fears of the commander-in-chief. Howe invested the fort, and besieged it with such vigor that its brave commander was obliged to surrender. The besiegers lost nearly a thousand men in killed and wounded, the Americans one hundred and forty-nine: much valuable artillery and a large number of small-arms were captured, and more than twenty-six hundred prisoners taken. An advance was next made on Fort Mifflin, which lay on the New Jersey side of the Hudson, about ten miles above the city. The garrison of this stronghold escaped certain capture by a hasty withdrawal, but much valuable material was abandoned to the enemy. These were serious disasters

to the American army, and Washington found himself obliged to retreat step by step through New Jersey, followed by the victorious foe. Fortunately for him, the Howes divided their forces, a strong expedition being sent to Newport, for the capture of the island of Rhode Island, the unimportant occupation of which employed a large body of troops for three years.

Washington, after facing his foe at every step, was finally forced by superior numbers to cross the Delaware, on which he destroyed or secured every boat for a distance of seventy miles, to prevent the enemy from following. Howe reached Trenton on the 8th of December, just in time to see the last of the Americans safely pass the river.

Meanwhile, General Lee, who had been left in command on the Hudson, delayed his march to Washington's aid, despite the urgency of the latter, and, while carelessly passing the night at a distance from his force, was taken prisoner by some British dragoons. "No hope remained to the United States but in Washington. His retreat of ninety miles through the Jerseys, protracted for eighteen or nineteen days, in winter, often in sight and within cannon-shot of his enemies, his rear pulling down bridges and their van building them up, had for its purpose to effect delay till midwinter and impassable roads should offer their protection. The actors, looking back upon the crowded disasters which fell on them, hardly knew by what springs of animation they had been sustained."

This retreat and pursuit threw the inhabitants of the then seat of government into the greatest dismay. There were British posts in New Jersey but little above Philadelphia, and ships of war were rumored to be in the bay. The inhabitants sent their wives and children, and portable valuables, from the city. The panic affected Congress, which body hastily voted to adjourn to Baltimore, their flight seriously injuring the public credit and causing a fall in the value of the currency. Putnam held the city, which he was charged to hold to the last extremity. General Howe, satisfied that the fight was thoroughly taken out of the American army, returned to his winter-quarters in New York, leaving Donop with two Hessian brigades and the Forty-Second Highlanders to hold the line from Trenton to Burlington.

European confidence in the success of the British was at its height. "Franklin's troops have been beaten by those of the King of England," wrote Voltaire: "alas! reason and liberty are ill received in this world." Rockingham, Lord North, Burke, and other statesmen of England considered the resistance of the colonists nearly at an end.

In New York the young officers were preparing to amuse themselves with dramatic performances, while gambling served to fill the intervals between the frequent balls and parties. Cornwallis left Grant in command in New Jersey, and was about to embark for England, as he considered the fighting at an end. All was confidence on the part of the invaders, gloom and depression on that of the Americans.

Donop declared that Trenton should be protected by redoubts, but Rahl, who commanded that post, disdained the idea. There were rumors, indeed, that Washington was threatening Trenton, but no one believed them. "Let them come," said Rahl, valiantly: "what need of intrenchments? We will at them with the bayonet." He neglected all proper measures of security, and spent his time in carousing, while the men under his command made the most of their opportunities for plundering.

Yet he was not so secure as he imagined. Washington was less discouraged and less powerless than his enemies supposed. Perceiving that the forces of the enemy were scattered and careless, he resolved, on the 16th of December, to take advantage of the opportunity offered for a surprise. All the boats available were secured, and his forces, increased by fifteen hundred volunteers from Philadelphia, guarded all the crossing-places on the Delaware. While waiting for the proper time to put his scheme in execution, some reinforcements under Greene and Sullivan joined him. At length the chosen period arrived. We select from Carrington's "*Battles of the American Revolution*" a description of the important events that succeeded.]

On the twenty-fifth day of December, 1776, the regiments of Anspach, Knyphausen, and Rahl, with fifty chasseurs and twenty light dragoons, making a total effective force of not quite fifteen hundred and fifty men, constituted the garrison at Trenton. The command had six pieces of artillery, including two in front of Colonel Rahl's quarters; but, contrary to the previous advice of Colonel Donop, there were neither field-works nor defence of any kind before the ferry or at any of the approaches to the town. One such work on the summit, at the fork of King and Queen's Streets, and one on Front Street, would have seriously endangered the American move-

ment, especially under the circumstances of severe weather, which almost disarmed the assailants. It is well known that rumors of an impending offensive return by Washington had reached Colonel Rahl, and that a small picket-guard had been stationed on the old Pennington road, half a mile beyond the head of King Street, and another was in position, equally advanced, upon the river road leading to the next upper, or McConkey's Ferry, past the houses of Rutherford and General Dickinson.

It was Christmas day, a holiday in great favor with the troops which composed the garrison. It is profitless for the author's purpose to enter into details of the manner in which that garrison observed that holiday and spent the night which closed its enjoyment. It is enough to state that military negligence was absolute, and that it cost the commander his life. That negligence lasted through the night, and prevailed up to eight o'clock in the morning. It appears that the usual morning parade routine had been observed, and the men had returned to their barracks. These barracks, now cleft by a street, were still standing in 1875, and showed that they afforded a good defensive position, if promptly occupied and firmly held. The disposition of the American army for the attack was eminently bold and judicious. Griffin was expected still to occupy the attention of Donop, as if the demonstrations across the river were but the feverish action of local militia. A small centre column, under General James Ewing, of Pennsylvania, whose brigade reported but five hundred and forty-seven rank and file for duty, was to cross just below Trenton, to occupy the bridge across the Assanpink, and thus sever communication with Donop's corps at Bordentown. Still further down the river, as a constraint upon the possible movement of that corps to the support of Colonel Rahl, the right wing under Colonel

John Cadwallader, not yet promoted, was ordered to cross at Bristol, below Bordentown, with view to a direct attack upon Donop from the south, and thus co-operate with the militia in that quarter. General Washington reserved for himself the conduct of the left wing, consisting of twenty-four hundred men, which was to cross nine miles above Trenton, at McConkey's Ferry. Learning that Maidenhead was almost without garrison, except a troop of dragoons, it was the purpose of the American commander also to include that sub-post within his raid.

It was also expected that General Putnam would cross from Philadelphia early on the twenty-sixth, with at least a thousand men. The plan embraced the entire deliverance of the left bank of the Delaware.

The right wing landed a portion of its troops, but, on account of the ice, could not land the artillery, and returned to Bristol. Cadwallader expressed his great regret in his report to Washington, remarking, "I imagine the badness of the night must have prevented you from passing over as you intended."

It was not until four o'clock that Cadwallader succeeded in regaining Bristol; and Moylan, who then started to join Washington, found the storm so violent that he abandoned his purpose, believing that that officer could not possibly effect a crossing. The centre column failed to effect a landing for the same reason.

The left wing of the army under Washington, accompanied by Greene and Sullivan as division commanders, formed evening parade under cover of the high ground just back of McConkey's Ferry, now known as Taylorville. It was designed to move as soon as darkness set in, so as to complete the crossing at midnight, and enter Trenton as early as five o'clock on the morning of the twenty-sixth.

It was such a night as cost Montgomery and Arnold their fearful experience under the rock of Quebec. It was cold, snowy, and tempestuous. A few days of milder weather had opened the ice; now it was again rapidly freezing, checking the current and skirting the shore.

The scanty protection of blankets was as nothing to protect men in such a conflict. There were young volunteers from Philadelphia in that command, going forth for the first time to study war. There were nearly ragged and shoeless veterans there, who had faced such storms, and the fiercer storms of war, before. Stark, of Breed's Hill, was there. Glover, the man of Marblehead, a hero of the Long Island retreat, and Webb and Scott, and William Washington and James Monroe, were there. Brain and courage, nerve and faith, were there. Washington's countersign of the twenty-third, "*Victory or death*," was in the inner chambers of many souls, guarding manhood, quickening conscience, and defying nature. This was all because the path of duty was so well defined. The order to embark and cross over had been given. It was short, and made no allusion to the swift current, the cold or snow. These were almost negative facts, circumstances of delay and discomfort, but could not set aside duty. Those men had been retreating, and had rested on the bank of the Delaware, almost hopeless of better times. They were now faced upon their late pursuers. The "man of retreats" and temporary positions was in his fighting mood, and men went with him, counting no impediments and sternly in earnest.

"As severe a night as I ever saw," wrote Thomas Rodney; "the frost was sharp, the current difficult to stem, the ice increasing, the wind high, and at eleven it began to snow."

The landing of the artillery was not effected until three

o'clock, but the army did not march until four. Retreat could not be made without discovery, annoyance, and consequent disheartening of his troops, and, late as it was, the advance was ordered. The snow ceased, but sleet and hail came fiercely from the northeast, as the march began.

A mile and a quarter from the landing brought them to Bear Tavern, where they reached the direct river road to Trenton. Three miles and a half more brought them to Birmingham. Sullivan here notified Washington by a messenger that the men reported their "arms to be wet." "Tell your general," said Washington, "to use the bayonet and penetrate into the town. The town must be taken. I am resolved to take it."

Here the army divided. Sullivan's division moved at once, by the river road, toward Trenton, then only four and a half miles distant. Washington, with Greene, took direction to the left, crossed over to the old Scotch road, and entered the Pennington road one mile from town. This route was about equally distant with the other from the points aimed at by the respective divisions. Washington's division, as he says, "arrived at the enemy's advanced post exactly at eight o'clock; and three minutes after, I found from the fire on the lower road that that division had also got up." The pickets on both roads behaved well, but were quickly swept away by the force which already hastened to its achievement.

Washington moved directly to the junction of King and Queen Streets. The flying pickets had already given the alarm, and the Hessians were beginning to rally within sight, as he rode in advance.

Under his direction Colonel Knox placed Forrest's battery of six guns in position so as to command both streets, which there diverged at a very acute angle,—Queen Street running southward to the Assanpink, and King Street in-

clining east of south, to the crossing of Second and Front Streets, by which Sullivan must approach. Colonel Rahl occupied the large frame house of Stacy Potts, near where Perry Street joins King Street. He promptly put himself at the head of a hastily-gathered detachment for the purpose of advancing up King Street to its summit, but Captain Forrest's battery of six guns had already opened fire. The regiment of Knyphausen attempted to form in open ground between Queen Street and the Assanpink, while a third detachment, completely demoralized, moved rapidly toward the Princeton road to escape in that direction. This last detachment was met by Colonel Hand's rifle battalion, which had been deployed to Washington's left, as a guard upon that possible line of retreat, as well as to watch the approaches from Princeton. Scott's and Lawson's Virginia battalions had been thrown still further to the left, thus completely closing the gap between Hand and the Assanpink River.

While Rahl was gathering his own companies as rapidly as possible, the two guns at his head-quarters had been partially manned and were ready to deliver fire; when Captain Washington, with Lieutenant James Monroe and an active party, rushed upon the gunners and brought away the pieces before a sufficiently strong infantry support could be brought up for their protection. Rahl moved his companies as soon as formed, and joined Knyphausen's regiment, but almost immediately moved back for the cover which the buildings afforded.

Galloway, Stedman, and some other early writers have alleged that the Hessians returned to load wagons and carry off their accumulated plunder. It is difficult to regard such statements as other than traditional fables. Individuals may have tried to save their effects, but there was very little time to spare for that business, and Colonel

Rahl was too strict a soldier to have permitted it at such a moment.

Captain Forrest's guns swept the open ground as well as the streets, and the adjoining orchard was equally untenable, hopelessly exposing the men to a fire which could not be returned. Two of the guns which were afterwards taken seem to have been cut off from the reach of the Hessians when they were themselves drifted eastward from their magazine and barracks by the American control of both King and Queen Streets; and two guns with the Knyphausen regiment were of little service. General Sullivan's division entered the town through Front and Second Streets. Colonel Stark, who led the column, moved directly to the Assanpink bridge, to cut off retreat toward Bordentown, but the chasseurs, the light horse, and a considerable infantry force, at least two hundred men, had already crossed the bridge in retreat upon that post. St. Clair took possession of the foot of Queen Street, and as Stark swung round and moved up the Assanpink the Hessians were literally between two fires, while the additional enfilading fire upon the streets closed their left, and the Assanpink closed their right.

For a short time small parties of Hessians who had been unable to join their companies kept up a fruitless scattering fire from houses where they had taken refuge; but the fall of Colonel Rahl while urging his men to assault the summit where Washington controlled the action, and the advance of Sullivan's division, which shut up all avenues of escape to Bordentown, forced the Hessians out of the town to the open field and orchard, where the whole command surrendered.

The American casualties were two killed and three wounded, Captain Washington and Monroe being among the latter. Several were badly frozen,—in two instances

resulting fatally. The Hessian casualties were given by General Howe as forty men killed and wounded, besides officers; and nine hundred and eighteen prisoners were taken, of whom thirty were officers. Subsequently, a lieutenant-colonel, a deputy adjutant-general, and scattering members of the Hessian corps were taken, making the total number of prisoners, as reported by Washington on the twenty-eighth of December, about one thousand. The trophies of war were six bronze guns, four sets of colors, over a thousand stand of arms, twelve drums, many blankets, and other garrison supplies. General Howe says, "This misfortune seems to have proceeded from Colonel Rahl's quitting the post and advancing to the attack, instead of defending the village." The fact is overlooked that Washington's position at the head of King and Queen Streets with artillery, which commanded both streets, afforded a very poor opportunity for the surprised Hessians. The more men they gathered in those narrow streets, the better it was for American artillery practice. Rahl followed the instincts of a soldier, and, as he had not the force to assault the enemy and dispossess them of their commanding positions, he sought ground where he could form his command and fight as he could get opportunity. The movement of Washington which threw Hand, Scott, and Lawson to the left, together with his superiority in artillery, and the pressure of Sullivan's division from the rear through Second Street, forced Colonel Rahl to his fate. His mistakes had been made before the alarm of battle recalled him to duty; and then he did all that time and Washington permitted. The disparity in casualties is accounted for by the facts stated. The American artillery had its play at will beyond musket-range and upon higher ground, with little chance for the Hessians to render fire in return. A few skilfully-handed guns determined

the action. Washington on this occasion evinced the force of individual will applied, under extreme necessity, to a determining issue. The battle occupied less than one hour. Its fruit was like the grain of mustard-seed which developed a tree under whose branches a thousand might take shelter. He marched back to Newtown *with prisoners of war*, reaching head-quarters the same night; a new experience for the American army. This countermarch was attended with great hardships and suffering. The entire distance marched by the troops which left Newtown with Washington was nearly thirty miles, before they again reached their camp, and more than a thousand men were practically disabled for duty through frozen limbs and broken-down energies.

[The events that succeeded this important victory may be briefly stated. Washington's good fortune having brought him in reinforcements of militia, and induced some of his men whose term was about expiring to remain six weeks longer, he recrossed to Trenton on December 28. The British were now in force at Princeton. On January 2, Cornwallis reached Trenton with a strong army. Washington lay intrenched on the east side of the creek, with about five thousand men. The British threatened an attack the next day, in which defeat would have been ruinous to the Americans, since the ice in the Delaware rendered it nearly impassable in the face of an active foe. Washington accordingly devised a stratagem which proved highly successful. Kindling his camp-fires, and leaving guards and sentinels, he decamped that night with his whole army, and reached Princeton the next morning, about the time that Cornwallis discovered his disappearance. Here he met and defeated a body of soldiers, but, finding that Cornwallis was marching hastily back, and fearing to be caught between two fires with a worn-out army, he abruptly left that locality, and marched towards Morristown, while the British hastened to New Brunswick, to save their stores. Washington soon took the field again, and overran all northern New Jersey, while Howe's army became confined to the two posts of Amboy and New Brunswick. The people of New Jersey, who had been cruelly abused by the invaders, now retali-

ated by a guerilla warfare, cutting off outposts, attacking stragglers, and so annoying the British that they hardly dared venture beyond their lines.]

THE CAPTURE OF PHILADELPHIA.

CHARLES BOTTA.

[The active military operations of the year 1777 in the North were matched by as active ones in the Middle States, though the latter did not end so successfully for the American cause. In the early part of the year, as we have seen, Washington had regained possession of New Jersey, and closed the avenue to Philadelphia by that route. Half the year was occupied by Howe in vain endeavors to bring Washington to a general engagement. Failing in this, he withdrew all his forces from New Jersey, and began extensive preparations for a sea-expedition, whose object it was not easy to ascertain. Washington, however, believed it to be the capture of Philadelphia, and made energetic preparations for the defence of that city. Howe set sail from Sandy Hook on the 23d of July with a large and well-appointed army, leaving a strong garrison to hold New York. Rhode Island was also strongly garrisoned. Yet about this time an adventure of striking boldness occurred on that island. General Prescott, who commanded the Rhode Island forces, had become very negligent of his guard, under assurance of perfect safety. In consequence, on the 10th of July, a party of militia secretly landed on the island and carried him off prisoner from the midst of his army. This exploit gave the greatest satisfaction to the Americans, who hoped to exchange this prisoner for General Lee, who had been captured in much the same manner.]

About this time several French officers of distinction entered the service of the United States, principal among them being the Marquis de Lafayette, a young nobleman of the highest rank, and for whom Washington ever afterwards felt the warmest friendship. The intentions of Howe for some time remained doubtful. His fleet kept at sea, off the coast, and Washington was in doubt whether its destination was Delaware or Chesapeake Bay, or whether it might return to the

Hudson or assail Charleston. The Delaware had been rendered impassable by obstructions, and all doubt was finally ended by the appearance of the fleet in the Chesapeake. It was now the last of August, the fleet having been baffled and delayed by persistent contrary winds. On the 25th of August the British army, eighteen thousand strong, landed near the head of Elk River, in Maryland. Washington, who had advanced beyond Wilmington, retreated before this superior force, and took up a position behind the Brandywine, where he designed to make a stand for the defence of Philadelphia. The story of the subsequent events we select from a well-known and valuable work on American history by an Italian author, Botta's "*History of the War for Independence of the United States of America*," as translated by George A. Otis.]

EARLY in the morning of the eleventh of September the British army marched to the enemy. Howe had formed his army in two columns, the right commanded by General Knyphausen, the left by Lord Cornwallis. His plan was, that while the first should make repeated feints to attempt the passage of Chadsford, in order to occupy the attention of the republicans, the second should take a long circuit to the upper part of the river, and cross at a place where it was divided into two shallow streams. . . . Knyphausen advanced with his column, and commenced a furious cannonade upon the passage of Chadsford, making all his dispositions as if he intended to force it. The Americans defended themselves with gallantry, and even passed several detachments of light troops to the other side, in order to harass the enemy's flanks. But after a course of skirmishes, sometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retire, they were finally, with an eager pursuit, driven over the river. Knyphausen then appeared more than ever determined to pass the ford; he stormed, and kept up an incredible noise. In this manner the attention of the Americans was fully occupied in the neighborhood of Chadsford. Meanwhile, Lord Cornwallis, at the head of

the second column, took a circuitous march to the left, and gained unperceived the forks of the Brandywine. By this rapid movement he passed both branches of the river at Trimble's and at Jeffery's Fords, without opposition, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then, turning short down the river, took the road to Dilworth, in order to fall upon the right flank of the American army. The republican general, however, received intelligence of this movement about noon, and, as it usually happens in similar cases, the reports exaggerated its importance exceedingly, it being represented that General Howe commanded this division in person. Washington therefore decided immediately for the most judicious, though boldest, measure: this was, to pass the river with the centre, and left wing of his army, and overwhelm Knyphausen by the most furious attack. He justly reflected that the advantage he should obtain upon the enemy's right would amply compensate the loss that his own might sustain at the same time. Accordingly, he ordered General Sullivan to pass the Brandywine with his division at an upper ford and attack the left of Knyphausen, while he, in person, should cross lower down and fall upon the right of that general.

[This operation was checked by the arrival of a new report, to the effect that the previous information was false. Washington was thus kept in uncertainty till it was too late to make any decisive movement. On learning that the enemy was really approaching in force, he hastily made preparations to meet this imminent danger.]

But the column of Cornwallis was already in sight of the Americans. Sullivan drew up his troops on the commanding ground above Birmingham meeting-house, with his left extending towards the Brandywine, and both his flanks covered with very thick woods. His artillery was advantageously planted upon the neighboring hills. But

it appears that Sullivan's own brigade, having taken a long circuit, arrived too late upon the field of battle, and had not yet occupied the position assigned it, when the action commenced. The English, having reconnoitred the dispositions of the Americans, immediately formed, and fell upon them with the utmost impetuosity. The engagement became equally fierce on both sides about four o'clock in the afternoon. For some length of time the Americans defended themselves with great valor, and the carnage was terrible. But such was the emulation which invigorated the efforts of the English and Hessians [between whom a feeling of rivalry existed] that neither the advantages of situation, nor a heavy and well-supported fire of small-arms and artillery, nor the unshaken courage of the Americans, were able to resist their impetuosity. The light infantry, chasseurs, grenadiers, and guards threw themselves with such fury into the midst of the republican battalions that they were forced to give way. Their left flank was first thrown into confusion; but the rout soon became general. The vanquished fled into the woods in their rear: the victors pursued, and advanced by the great road towards Dilworth. On the first fire of the artillery, Washington, having no doubt of what was passing, had pushed forward the reserve to the succor of Sullivan. But this corps, on approaching the field of battle, fell in with the flying soldiers of Sullivan, and perceived that no hope remained of retrieving the fortunes of the day. General Greene, by a judicious manœuvre, opened his ranks to receive the fugitives, and after their passage, having closed them anew, he retired in good order, checking the pursuit of the enemy by a continual fire of the artillery which covered his rear. Having come to a defile, covered on both sides with woods, he drew up his men there, and again faced the enemy.

[Knyphausen now prepared to convert his feint into a real crossing of the river.]

The passage of Chadsford was defended by an intrenchment and battery. The republicans stood firm at first; but upon intelligence of the defeat of their right, and seeing some of the British troops who had penetrated through the woods come out upon their flank, they retired in disorder, abandoning their artillery and munitions to the German general. In their retreat, or rather flight, they passed behind the position of General Greene, who still defended himself, and was the last to quit the field of battle. Finally, it being already dark, after a long and obstinate conflict, he also retired. The whole army retreated that night to Chester, and the day following to Philadelphia.

There the fugitives arrived incessantly, having effected their escape through by-ways and circuitous routes. The victors passed the night on the field of battle. If darkness had not arrived seasonably, it is very probable that the whole American army would have been destroyed. The loss of the republicans was computed at about three hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and near four hundred taken prisoners. They also lost ten field-pieces and a howitzer. The loss in the royal army was not in proportion, being something under five hundred, of which the slain did not amount to one-fifth.

[The foreign officers, Count Pulaski, a noble Pole, Lafayette, Captain De Fleury, and the Baron St. Ovary, were of great use to the Americans in this conflict. St. Ovary was taken prisoner, and Lafayette wounded. The defeat did not discourage Congress, which had resumed its sessions in Philadelphia, nor Washington, who took active measures to retrieve his losses. Within a few days after the defeat he advanced again, and offered battle to the approaching enemy. But there came so violent a rainfall as seriously to injure the arms and

ammunition of the Americans, and Washington was forced to withdraw his army. Meanwhile, General Wayne was surprised by a night attack at Paoli, assailed with the bayonet, and had three hundred men killed out of a total of fifteen hundred. This assault, which was little else than a massacre, was long remembered with indignation by the Americans. Washington now, finding the extensive magazines of provisions and military stores which he had formed at Reading threatened by the British, moved to cover them, and abandoned Philadelphia, which was occupied by the enemy on the 26th of September. Congress adjourned to Lancaster. Yet Washington's activity continued unremitting. Batteries were erected on the Delaware, and obstructions sunk, to prevent the British fleet from ascending the river. Learning that Howe had sent some regiments to reduce these batteries, Washington took the opportunity, on October 4, to fall upon the weakened British army, then encamped at Germantown.]

Germantown is a considerable village, about half a dozen miles from Philadelphia, and which, stretching on both sides of the great road to the northward, forms a continued street of two miles in length. The British line of encampment crossed Germantown at right angles about the centre, the left wing extending on the west from the town to the Schuylkill. . . . The centre, being posted within the town, was guarded by the Fortieth Regiment, and another battalion of light infantry, stationed about three-quarters of a mile above the head of the village. Washington resolved to attack the British by surprise, not doubting that if he succeeded in breaking them, as they were not only distant but totally separated from the fleet, his victory must be decisive.

[He divided his troops, so as to make a double attack, with the purpose of separating the right and left wings of the British army. Parties of cavalry were sent out to scour the roads, to prevent any one from notifying Howe of the movement intended. A silent and rapid night march was made.]

At three o'clock in the morning the British patrols dis-

covered the approach of the Americans: the troops were soon called to arms; each took his post with the precipitation of surprise. About sunrise the Americans came up. General Conway, having driven in the pickets, fell upon the Fortieth Regiment and the battalion of light infantry. These corps, after a short resistance, being overpowered by numbers, were pressed and pursued into the village. Fortune appeared already to have declared herself in favor of the Americans; and certainly, if they had gained complete possession of Germantown, nothing could have frustrated them of the most signal victory. But in this conjuncture Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave threw himself, with six companies of the Fortieth Regiment, into a large and strong stone house, situated near the head of the village, from which he poured upon the assailants so terrible a fire of musketry that they could advance no further. The Americans attempted to storm this unexpected covert of the enemy, but those within continued to defend themselves with resolution. They finally brought up cannon to the assault; but such was the intrepidity of the English and the violence of their fire that it was found impossible to dislodge them.

[Meanwhile, General Greene had assailed the left flank of the enemy's right wing; but the columns which were to aid his movement by turning the right and left flanks of the British army failed to perform the work expected of them.]

The consequence was that General Grey, finding his left flank secure, marched, with nearly the whole of the left wing, to the assistance of the centre, which, notwithstanding the unexpected resistance of Colonel Musgrave, was excessively hard pressed in Germantown, where the Americans gained ground incessantly. The battle was now very warm at that village, the attack and the defence being

alike vigorous. The issue appeared for some time dubious. General Agnew was mortally wounded, while charging, with great bravery, at the head of the Fourth Brigade. The American colonel Matthews, of the column of Greene, assailed the English with so much fury that he drove them before him into the town. He had taken a large number of prisoners, and was about entering the village, when he perceived that a thick fog and the unevenness of the ground had caused him to lose sight of the rest of his division. Being soon enveloped by the extremity of the right wing, which fell back upon him when it had discovered that nothing was to be apprehended from the tardy approach of the militia of Maryland and Jersey, he was compelled to surrender with all his party: the English had already rescued their prisoners. This check was the cause that two regiments of the English right wing were enabled to throw themselves into Germantown, and to attack the Americans who had entered it in flank. Unable to sustain the shock, they retired precipitately, leaving a great number of killed and wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave, to whom belongs the principal honor of this affair, was then relieved from all peril. General Grey, being absolute master of all Germantown, flew to the succor of the right wing, which was engaged with the left of the column of Greene. The Americans then took to flight, abandoning to the English throughout the line a victory of which in the commencement of the action they had felt assured.

The principal causes of the failure of this well-concerted enterprise were the extreme haziness of the weather, which was so thick that the Americans could neither discover the situation nor movements of the British army, nor yet those of their own; the inequality of the ground, which incessantly broke the ranks of their battalions; . . . and, finally, the unexpected resistance of Musgrave, who found means,

in a critical moment, to transform a mere house into an impregnable fortress.

[The American loss was about twelve hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the English, about five hundred in killed and wounded. Washington retreated immediately to Perkiomen Creek, while in a few days after the battle the British army was removed from Germantown to Philadelphia. Congress expressed warm approbation of the plan of action and the courage shown in its execution, and passed a vote of thanks to the general and the army. Washington quickly advanced again to a threatening position at Skippack Creek.]

Thus the British general might have seen that he had to grapple with an adversary who, far from allowing himself to be discouraged by adverse fortune, seemed, on the contrary, to gain by it more formidable energies; who, the moment after defeat, was prepared to resume the offensive; and whose firmness and activity were such that even the victories obtained by his adversaries only yielded them the effects of defeat. Nor was the taking of Philadelphia attended with those advantages which were expected from it.

The inhabitants of the country were not in the least intimidated by that event; and the victorious army, surrounded on all sides by enemies, found itself, as it were, immured within the precincts of the city. Washington, posted on the heights of the Schuylkill, maintained a menacing attitude: he employed his cavalry and light troops in scouring the country between the banks of that river and those of the Delaware. He thus repressed the excursions of the English, prevented them from foraging with safety, and deterred the disaffected or the avaricious among the people of the country from conveying provisions to their camp.

[Howe, thus rendered unable to supply himself from the surround-

ing country, diligently endeavored to remove the obstructions from the Delaware, that his fleet might come up. Arrangements were made for attacks in force on the batteries of Fort Mifflin, on the Pennsylvania side, and of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, on the Jersey shore.]

According to these dispositions, the English put themselves in motion on the evening of the twenty-first of October. Colonel Donop, a German officer, who had distinguished himself in the course of the campaign, passed the Delaware from Philadelphia, with a strong detachment of Hessians, at Cooper's Ferry. Then marching down the Jersey shore, along the bank of the river, he arrived at a late hour the following day in the rear of Red Bank. The fortifications consisted of extensive outer works, within which was a strong palisaded intrenchment, well furnished with artillery. Donop attacked the fort with the utmost gallantry. The Americans, after a slight resistance in the outer intrenchment, finding their number too small to man it sufficiently, withdrew into the body of the redoubt, where they made a vigorous defence.

Their intrepidity and the want of scaling-ladders baffled all the efforts of the Hessians. Colonel Donop was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Several of his best officers were killed or disabled; Colonel Mingerode himself, the second in command, received a dangerous wound. The Hessians were then severely repulsed; and Lieutenant-Colonel Linsing drew them off with precipitation; but even in their retreat they suffered extremely by the fire of the enemy's galleys and floating batteries. The loss of the Hessians was estimated at not less than four or five hundred men. Donop expired of his wounds the next day. The Americans owed much of their success to the Chevalier du Plessis, a French officer, who directed the artillery with great ability and valor. The vanquished returned to Philadelphia.

[The attack on Fort Mifflin was at first unsuccessful, but a new attack rendered the fort untenable. Fort Mercer was soon after so injured by a severe bombardment that it was necessarily abandoned. The navigation of the Delaware was thus opened to the British ships. Washington's army at this time numbered over twelve thousand regulars, and three thousand militia. Howe had about twelve thousand men. The former took up a strong position at White Marsh, while Howe faced him on Chestnut Hill. Various unsuccessful efforts were made by Howe to draw Washington from his intrenchments. Finally, as it appeared that the American general could not be induced to give battle, Howe withdrew to place his troops in winter-quarters in Philadelphia. Washington marched his army for the same purpose to Valley Forge. With these movements the campaign of 1777 ended.]

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST FORT SCHUYLER.

BENSON J. LOSSING.

[While Washington, in the early part of 1777, was boldly facing the enemy in New Jersey, affairs of great importance were taking place in the North, which were destined to prove of the utmost advantage to the American cause. The momentous expedition of Burgoyne, which was actively preparing in the spring of that year, was preceded by several conflicts in New England, which may be briefly mentioned. General Tryon, the recent royal governor of New York, landed in Connecticut on April 25, with two thousand men, marched on Danbury, destroyed the stores there, burned the town, and committed many atrocities upon the inhabitants. In retiring he was assailed by the militia, in detachments under Arnold, Sullivan, and Wooster. The British were severely harassed, and lost nearly three hundred men before regaining their ships. Soon afterwards a party of Connecticut militia, under Colonel Meigs, surprised a force of the enemy at Sag Harbor, destroyed the stores collected there, burned a dozen vessels, and captured ninety prisoners, without having a single man killed or wounded. But the two great events of the year were

the advance of Howe upon Philadelphia, and Burgoyne's expedition from Canada, the latter of which now demands our attention. This expedition had been planned during the winter by the king, Lord George Germain, the colonial secretary, and General Burgoyne, and great hopes of success were entertained from it. Burgoyne, though a soldier of reputation, was not the proper man to command this expedition, which should have been intrusted to Sir Guy Carleton, who had opened the way for it by his victory on Lake Champlain, and whose perfect acquaintance with the country, the Canadians, and the Indians would have given him exceptional advantages in its prosecution.

Burgoyne reached Quebec in March, 1777. Carleton, though annoyed at being superseded, actively aided in preparing the expedition. Vessels were constructed, stores collected, and a force of seven thousand men mustered at St. Johns, at the foot of Lake Champlain, by the 1st of June. Colonel St. Leger, with seven hundred Rangers, was sent to Oswego, to march from that point, rouse the Indians, capture Fort Schuyler, sweep the valley of the Mohawk, and rejoin Burgoyne at Albany. On June 16, Burgoyne sailed for Crown Point, with seven thousand regulars and several thousand Canadians and Indians. Thence he marched upon Ticonderoga, held by General St. Clair with about three thousand men. St. Clair, finding resistance hopeless, essayed a secret retreat, but his movement was discovered, and active pursuit made, and as a result of his withdrawal from Ticonderoga to Fort Edward, on the Hudson, he lost nearly two hundred pieces of artillery, and a large quantity of stores and provisions. Fort Edward was the head-quarters of the American army, then under General Schuyler. Having but little over four thousand men, and these in a wretched state as to arms, ammunition, clothing, and provisions, Schuyler found it necessary to retire. In doing so he destroyed the bridges and obstructed the roads by felling large trees, so that Burgoyne was unable to reach Fort Edward until the 30th of July. Schuyler, meanwhile, had stationed himself at the mouth of the Mohawk, where he received reinforcements of militia and some detachments from the regular army, increasing his force to thirteen thousand men. The Polish hero Kosciusko was chief engineer of his army. In the mean time, St. Leger was advancing on the route laid down for him, towards Fort Schuyler, his first point of attack. As the siege of this post proved to be an event of great importance, we select a description of it from Lossing's "*Field-Book of the Revolution*," in which it is detailed with the picturesque clearness of that able writer.]

IN the spring of 1777, Colonel Peter Gansevoort was appointed to the command of Fort Schuyler, and held that post in the summer of that year, when Burgoyne was making his victorious march towards Albany by way of Lake Champlain. . . . As early as June, a man from Canada, arrested as a spy, had disclosed the fact that a detachment of British troops, Canadians, and Indians was to penetrate the country by way of Oswego and the Mohawk, to join Burgoyne when he should reach Albany. . . . Fort Schuyler was still unfinished, and feebly garrisoned, and certain discomfiture seemed to await the patriots in that region. Colonel Gansevoort, however, was vigilant, active, and hopeful. He wrote spirited letters to General Schuyler, imploring aid, and that officer as urgently laid the condition of Tryon County before the Provincial Congress of New York, and also the General Congress. But it was then too late to expect succor from a distance, and the people of the Mohawk Valley were thrown upon their own feeble resources for defence. St. Leger and his Rangers, with the forces of Johnson, Claus, Butler, and Brant, were already in motion, and on the 1st of August the enemy, one thousand seven hundred strong, came up Oneida Lake, and near the ruins of old Fort Newport prepared to invest Fort Schuyler. The Indians were led by Brant [the celebrated Indian chief], and the whole beleaguering force, at the beginning of the march at Oswego Falls, was disposed in admirable order for the journey through the forest. The main body was led by the Indians, under Brant, in five columns, four hundred and sixty paces in front of the advanced guard. The Indians marched in single file, at large distances apart. Between the five columns and the rear-guard a file of Indians, ten paces apart, formed a line of communication. The advanced guard was one hundred paces in front of the main

column, which was disposed in Indian file, the right and left flanks covered by a file of savages. The rear-guard was composed of regular troops. . . . Each corps was furnished with practised marksmen at short intervals, who were ordered to concentrate their strength upon any point that might be attacked.

[On the 2d of August the fort was reached, and its investment begun. On the 3d, St. Leger arrived with his whole force. The garrison consisted of seven hundred and fifty men, who were well provided with provisions, and ammunition for small-arms, though deficient in ammunition for cannon, their most important means of defence. They were also without a flag, and were forced to make one out of bits of scarlet and blue clothing and white shirts, on the pattern adopted by Congress.]

The siege commenced on the 4th. A few bombs were thrown into the fort, and the Indians, concealed behind trees and bushes, wounded several men who were employed in raising the parapets. Similar annoyances occurred on the 5th, and towards evening the Indians spread out through the woods, encircled the fort, and, by hideous yells throughout the night, attempted to intimidate the garrison. St. Leger, confident of success, sent a despatch to Burgoyne at this juncture, expressing his assurance that Fort Schuyler would be in his possession directly, and the hope that they would speedily meet as victors at Albany.

[In the mean time, General Herkimer was advancing to the aid of the garrison, with a force of more than eight hundred militia. He sent a messenger in advance, requesting Gansevoort to signify his arrival by the discharge of three guns. But the messenger was delayed, and the militia officers, full of ungoverned valor, so pressed their experienced leader to advance that he finally yielded to their importunity and taunts of cowardice, against his better judgment. He gave the word to "March on," but told those who had boasted of their courage that they would be the first to run at sight of the enemy.]

St. Leger had intelligence of the advance of Herkimer, and detached a division of Johnson's Greens, under Major Watts, Colonel Butler with his Rangers, and Brant with a strong body of Indians, to intercept him and prevent an attack upon his intrenchments. Before the arrival of Herkimer's messenger, Gansevoort had observed the silence of the enemy's camp, and also the movement of a portion of his troops along the margin of a wood down the river. The arrival of the courier dispelled all doubts as to the destination of the detachment, and the signal-guns were immediately fired. Herkimer had informed Gansevoort, by the messenger, that he intended, on hearing the signals, to cut his way to the fort through the circumvallating camp of the enemy, and requested him to make a sortie at the same time. This was done as soon as the arrangement could be made, and a detachment of two hundred men . . . was detailed for the purpose, who took with them an iron three-pounder. Fifty men were also added, to protect the cannon, and to act otherwise as circumstances might require. . . . Rain was falling copiously while preparations for the sortie were in progress, but the moment it ceased Willett sallied out and fell furiously upon that portion of the camp occupied by Sir John Johnson and his Royal Greens, a detachment of whom, as we have seen, had been sent to oppose the approach of Herkimer. The advanced guard, unable to withstand the impetuosity of the attack, was driven in; and so suddenly was Sir John's camp assailed that he was not allowed time to put on his coat. He endeavored to bring his troops into order, but they fled in dismay. The Indian camp was then assaulted, and in a few moments the savages, too, were scattered. Sir John and his troops fled across the river, to the temporary camp of St. Leger, and the Indians buried themselves in the deep

forest near. No less than twenty-one wagon-loads of spoil, consisting of clothing, blankets, stores, camp-equipage, five British standards, the baggage of Sir John, with all his papers, and those of other officers, containing every kind of information necessary to the garrison, were captured. Having secured their prize, Willett and his party returned to the fort without the loss of a man. The five British colors were raised in full view of the enemy, upon the flag-staff, beneath the uncouth American standard, and the whole garrison, mounting the parapets, made the forest ring with three loud cheers. This chivalrous exploit was duly noticed by Congress, and an elegant sword was presented to Colonel Willett in the name of the United States.

General Herkimer, in the mean while, had moved from the mills, at the mouth of Oriskany Creek, toward the fort, entirely unconscious of the ambuscade that, in a deep ravine two miles distant, awaited his approach. The morning was dark, sultry, and lowering. His troops, composed chiefly of the militia regiments of Colonels Cox, Paris, Visscher, and Klock, were quite undisciplined, and their order of march was irregular and without precaution. The contentions of the morning had delayed their advance until about nine o'clock, and the hard feelings that existed between the commander and some of his officers caused a degree of insubordination which proved fatal in its consequences. Brant and his tory associates had learned from their scouts the exact route the patriots had taken, and arranged an ambuscade accordingly. A deep ravine crossed the path of Herkimer in a north-and-south direction, extending from the high grounds on the south to the river, and curved toward the east in a semicircular form. The bottom of this ravine was marshy, and the road crossed it by means of a causeway of earth and logs. On each side of the ravine the ground was nearly level, and heavily

timbered. A thick growth of underwood, particularly along the margin of the ravine, favored concealment. It was upon the high ground on the western side of this ravine that the ambush of Tories and Indians was laid, in such a manner that the causeway was surrounded by them, as by a circle, leaving only a small segment open where the road entered. Unsuspicious of the proximity of the enemy, the whole body of provincials, except the rear-guard, composed of Visscher's regiment, descended into the ravine, followed by the baggage-wagons. Brant gave a signal, and in an instant the circle closed, the war-whoop was sounded, and spear and hatchet and deadly rifle-ball fell upon the patriots like hail from the clouds that hovered over them. The rear-guard, in fulfilment of Herkimer's prediction, instantly fled, and left their companions in the ravine to their fate. They were pursued by the Indians, and probably suffered more in their cowardly flight than if they had boldly aided their environed companions in arms.

This sudden onslaught produced great confusion in the patriot ranks, but they soon recovered, and fought with the courage and skill of veteran troops. The slaughter, however, was dreadful. Herkimer was severely wounded at the commencement of the action, and Colonel Cox and Captain Van Slyk were killed at the first fire. A musket-ball passed through and killed the horse of the general, and shattered his own leg just below the knee. With perfect composure and cool courage, he ordered the saddle to be taken from his slaughtered horse and placed against a large beech-tree near. Seated there, with his men falling like autumn foliage, and the bullets of the enemy, like driving sleet, whistling around him, the intrepid general calmly gave his orders, and thus nobly rebuked the slanderers who called him a coward.

For nearly an hour the fierce action continued, and by slow degrees the enemy was closing in upon the republicans. The latter then made an admirable change in their method of repulsion. They formed themselves into circles, and thus met the enemy at all points. Their fire became so destructive in this way that the Johnson Greens and a portion of Butler's Tories attempted a bayonet-charge. This was promptly met by the patriots, and the battle assumed the terrible form of a death-struggle in close personal contact. . . . At this moment a heavy thunder-peal broke over the forest, and the rain came down in such torrents that the combatants ceased their strife, and sought shelter beneath the trees. It was during this heavy shower that Willett made his preparations at the fort for the successful sortie just noticed; and, as soon as the rain subsided, he fell upon Johnson's camp, and the battle was renewed at Oriskany.

During the lull in the conflict both parties viewed the ground, and made new arrangements for attack and defence. It had been observed by the patriots that the Indians, as soon as they saw a gun fired by a provincial from behind a tree, would rush forward and tomahawk him before he could reload. To meet such an exigency in the renewed conflict, two men stood together behind a tree, and, while one fired, the other awaited the approach of the savage with his tomahawk, and felled him with his bullet. The provincials had also made choice of more advantageous ground, and soon after the renewal of the fight so destructive was their fire that the Indians began to give way. Major Watts came up with a detachment of Johnson's Greens to support them, but the presence of these men, mostly refugees from the Mohawk, made the patriots more furious, and mutual resentments, as the parties faced and recognized each other, seemed to give new

strength to their arms. They leaped upon each other with the fierceness of tigers, and fought hand to hand and foot to foot with bayonets and knives. It was a terrible struggle, and exhibited the peculiar cruelty and brutality which distinguishes civil war.

A firing was now heard in the direction of the fort. It was the attack of Willett upon the enemy's camp. Colonel Butler instantly conceived a stratagem, and was nearly successful in its execution. He so changed the dress of a detachment of Johnson's Greens that they appeared like American troops. These were made to approach from the direction of the fort, and were at first (as intended by Butler) mistaken by the patriots for a reinforcement from the garrison. But the quick eye of Captain Gardinier, an officer who performed deeds of great valor on that memorable day, discovered their real character, and, ordering his men to fall upon these pretended friends, they were soon scattered in confusion. The Indians, finding their ranks greatly thinned, and the provincials still undismayed, raised the loud retreating cry, "*Oonah! Oonah!*" and fled in all directions. The panic was communicated to the Tories and Canadians, and the whole force of the enemy retreated in confusion, pursued by the provincials with shouts of victory. Thus, after a conflict of six hours, ended the battle of Oriskany, the bloodiest encounter, in proportion to the numbers engaged, that occurred during the war.

[Neither party could claim a decisive victory, since, though the Americans held the field, they were unable to relieve the fort, which was the object of their march. Both had suffered severely. General Herkimer died ten days after the battle. The garrison continued so closely environed that they were unable to gain correct intelligence of the result of the battle. St. Leger endeavored to deceive them, by sending in false representations of victory and of Burgoyne's success. In this he failed, and Gansevoort repelled his demands for a surrender.

Yet, fearing that this would be his final fate, he sent messengers to General Schuyler, imploring succor. It was a dangerous mission, yet men were found willing to undertake it.]

Colonel Willett volunteered to be the messenger, and on a very stormy night, when shower after shower came down furiously, he and Lieutenant Stockwell left the fort by the sally-port at ten o'clock, each armed with a spear, and crept upon their hands and knees along a morass to the river. They crossed it upon a log, and were soon beyond the line of drowsy sentinels. It was very dark, their pathway was in a thick and tangled wood, and they soon lost their way. The barking of a dog apprised them of their proximity to an Indian camp, and for hours they stood still, fearing to advance or retreat. The clouds broke away towards dawn, and the morning star in the east, like the light of hope, revealed to them their desired course. They then pushed on in a zigzag way, and, like the Indians, sometimes traversed the bed of a stream, to foil pursuers that might be upon their trail. They reached the German Flats in safety, and, mounting fleet horses, hurried down the valley to the head-quarters of General Schuyler, who had already heard of the defeat of Herkimer, and was devising means for the succor of the garrison at Fort Schuyler.

St. Leger continued the siege. He advanced, by parallels, within one hundred and fifty yards of the fort, and the garrison, ignorant of the fate of Willett and Stockwell, or the relief that was preparing for them below, began to feel uneasy. Their ammunition and provisions being much reduced in quantity, some hinted an opinion to the commander that a surrender would be humane policy. Gansevoort's stout and hopeful heart would not yield admission to such an idea, and he informed the garrison that he had resolved, in case succor should not appear

before their supplies were exhausted, to sally out at night and cut his way through the enemy's camp. Suddenly, and mysteriously to the garrison, the besiegers broke up their camp, and fled so precipitately from before the fort that they left their tents, artillery, and camp-equipage behind them.

[The mystery was soon solved. General Arnold had volunteered to lead a force to the relief of the fort. Fearing that it would be captured before his main body could arrive, he pushed forward with a detachment, conceiving a stratagem which proved remarkably successful. A tory prisoner, ignorant and half idiotic, named Hon-Yost Schuyler, had been condemned to death. Arnold promised him his life if he would go to St. Leger's camp and represent that a large host of Americans were approaching. He held his brother as a hostage, while Hon-Yost, with a friendly Oneida Indian, set out for St. Leger's camp.]

Before leaving Fort Dayton, Hon-Yost had several bullets shot through his coat, and with these evidences of a "terrible engagement with the enemy" he appeared among the Indians of St. Leger's camp, many of whom knew him personally. He ran into their midst almost out of breath, and apparently much frightened. He told them that the Americans were approaching in great numbers, and that he had barely escaped with his life. His bullet-riddled coat confirmed the story. When they inquired the number of the Americans, he pointed to the leaves on the trees, and shook his head mysteriously. The Indians were greatly agitated. They had been decoyed into their present situation, and had been moody and uneasy since the battle of Oriskany. At the moment of Hon-Yost's arrival they were engaged in a religious observance,—a consultation, through their prophet, of Manitou, or the Great Spirit, to supplicate his guidance and protection. The council of chiefs at the *pow-wow* at once resolved

upon flight, and told St. Leger so. He sent for and questioned Hon-Yost, who told him that Arnold, with two thousand men, would be upon him in twenty-four hours. At that moment, according to arrangement, the friendly Oneida, who had taken a circuitous route, approached the camp from another direction, with a belt. On his way he met two or three straggling Indians of his tribe, who joined him, and they all confirmed the story of Hon-Yost. They pretended that a bird had brought them the news that the valley below was swarming with warriors. One said that the army of Burgoyne was cut to pieces, and another told St. Leger that Arnold had three thousand men near. They shook their heads mysteriously when questioned about numbers by the Indians, and pointed, like Hon-Yost, upward to the leaves. The savages, now thoroughly alarmed, prepared to flee. St. Leger tried every means, by offers of bribes and promises, to induce them to remain, but the panic, and suspicion of foul play, had determined them to go. He tried to make them drunk, but they refused to drink. He then besought them to take the rear of his army in retreating: this they refused, and indignantly said, "You mean to sacrifice us. When you marched down, you said there would be no fighting for us Indians; we might go down and smoke our pipes; whereas numbers of our warriors have been killed, and you mean to sacrifice us also." The council broke up, and the Indians fled. The panic was communicated to the rest of the camp, and in a few hours the beleaguering army was flying in terror towards their boats on Oneida Lake. Hon-Yost accompanied them in their flight as far as Wood Creek, where he managed to desert. He found his way back to the fort that night, and was the first to communicate to Colonel Gansevoort the intelligence of Arnold's approach. The Indians, it is said, made

themselves merry at the precipitate flight of the whites, who threw away their arms and knapsacks, so that nothing should impede their progress. The savages also gratified their passion for murder and plunder by killing many of their retreating allies on the borders of the lake, and stripping them of every article of value. They also plundered them of their boats, and, according to St. Leger, "became more formidable than the enemy they had to expect." Half starved and naked, the whites of the scattered army made their way to Oswego, and, with St. Leger, went down Ontario to Canada. . . . Thus ended the siege of Fort Schuyler, in the progress of which the courage, endurance, and skill of the Americans, everywhere so remarkable in the Revolution, were fully displayed.

THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE.

SIR EDWARD S. CREASY.

[The story of Burgoyne's expedition we have already partly told, in the fate of its detachment against Fort Schuyler. The main army we have traced in its course as far as Fort Edward. So far it had met with uniform success. It was now destined to encounter irreparable misfortunes. Its commander, General Burgoyne, had gained a degree of celebrity by dashing exploits in Portugal during the late war in that region. Personally he was distinguished for courage, was an admirable tactician, and was intellectually a very able man. Among his officers were Generals Phillips and Fraser, both able and experienced soldiers. His army was a fine one, well appointed, and reinforced by a large force of Canadians and Indians whom he had called to his aid. General Schuyler, who commanded against him, was removed before the two armies came to blows, and replaced by General Gates. Meanwhile, Sir Henry Clinton was ascending the Hudson, with the purpose of making connection with Burgoyne, and thus as-

sure the success of the important enterprise. The succeeding events we select from the admirable "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," by Sir Edward Creasy.]

THE war which rent away the North American colonies from England is, of all subjects in history, the most painful for an Englishman to dwell on. It was commenced and carried on by the British ministry in iniquity and folly, and it was concluded in disaster and shame. But the contemplation of it cannot be evaded by the historian, however much it may be abhorred. Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777,—a defeat which rescued the revolted colonists from certain subjection, and which, by inducing the courts of France and Spain to attack England in their behalf, insured the independence of the United States, and the formation of that trans-Atlantic power which not only America but both Europe and Asia now see and feel. . . .

[Seven thousand veterans were sent out from England for this expedition, which was accompanied by two or three thousand Canadians and a large body of Indians, whom Burgoyne had induced to join his army.]

It was intended that the force thus collected should march southward by the line of the lakes, and thence along the banks of the Hudson River. The British army from New York (or a large detachment of it) was to make a simultaneous movement northward, up the line of the Hudson, and the two expeditions were to unite at Albany, a town on that river. By these operations, all communication between the Northern colonies and those of the centre and South would be cut off. An irresistible force would be concentrated, so as to crush all further opposition in New England; and when this was done, it was believed

that the other colonies would speedily submit. The Americans had no troops in the field that seemed able to baffle these movements. Their principal army, under Washington, was occupied in watching over Pennsylvania and the South. At any rate, it was believed that, in order to oppose the plan intended for the new campaign, the insurgents must risk a pitched battle, in which the superiority of the royalists, in numbers, in discipline, and in equipment, seemed to promise to the latter a crowning victory. Without question, the plan was ably formed; and had the success of the execution been equal to the ingenuity of the design, the reconquest or submission of the thirteen United States must in all probability have followed, and the independence which they proclaimed in 1776 would have been extinguished before it existed a second year. No European power had as yet come forward to aid America. It is true that England was generally regarded with jealousy and ill will, and was thought to have acquired, at the treaty of Paris, a preponderance of dominion which was perilous to the balance of power; but, though many were willing to wound, none had yet ventured to strike; and America, if defeated in 1777, would have been suffered to fall unaided.

* * * * *

Burgoyne reached the left bank of the Hudson River on the 30th of July. Hitherto he had overcome every difficulty which the enemy and the nature of the country had placed in his way. His army was in excellent order and in the highest spirits, and the peril of the expedition seemed over when they were once on the bank of the river which was to be the channel of communication between them and the British army in the South.

[The success of this march had been viewed by the Americans with the greatest alarm, and every effort was made to raise an army to repel the triumphant foe.]

The local governments of the New England States, as well as the Congress, acted with vigor and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. General Gates was sent to take the command of the army at Saratoga; and Arnold, a favorite leader of the Americans, was despatched by Washington to act under him, with reinforcements of troops and guns from the main American army. Burgoyne's employment of the Indians now produced the worst possible effects. Though he had labored hard to check the atrocities which they were accustomed to commit, he could not prevent the occurrence of many barbarous outrages, repugnant both to the feelings of humanity and to the laws of civilized warfare. The American commanders took care that the reports of these excesses should be circulated far and wide, well knowing that they would make the stern New Englanders not droop, but rage. . . .

While resolute recruits, accustomed to the use of fire-arms, and all partially trained by service in the provincial militias, were flocking to the standard of Gates and Arnold at Saratoga, and while Burgoyne was engaged at Fort Edward in providing the means for the further advance of his army through the intricate and hostile country that still lay before him, two events occurred, in each of which the British sustained loss and the Americans obtained advantage, the moral effects of which were even more important than the immediate result of the encounters. . . .

[One of these events was that last described, the siege and relief of Fort Schuyler. The panic flight of St. Leger's force was the first check to the triumphant march of the enemy.]

At the very time that General Burgoyne heard of this disaster he experienced one still more severe, in the defeat of Colonel Baum, with a large detachment of German

troops, at Bennington, whither Burgoyne had sent them for the purpose of capturing some magazines of provisions, of which the British army stood greatly in need. The Americans, augmented by continual accessions of strength, succeeded, after many attacks, in breaking this corps, which fled into the woods and left its commander mortally wounded on the field: they then marched against a force of five hundred grenadiers and light infantry which was advancing to Colonel Baum's assistance under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, who, after a gallant resistance, was obliged to retreat on the main army. The British loss in these two actions exceeded six hundred men; and a party of American loyalists on their way to join the army, having attached themselves to Colonel Baum's corps, were destroyed with it.

Notwithstanding these reverses, which added greatly to the spirit and numbers of the American forces, Burgoyne determined to advance. It was impossible any longer to keep up his communication with Canada by way of the lakes, so as to supply his army on his southward march; but, having by unremitting exertions collected provisions for thirty days, he crossed the Hudson by means of a bridge of rafts, and marching a short distance along its western bank, he encamped on the 14th of September on the heights of Saratoga, about sixteen miles from Albany. The Americans had fallen back from Saratoga, and were now strongly posted near Stillwater, about half-way between Saratoga and Albany, and showed a determination to recede no farther.

[Meanwhile, Clinton was ascending the Hudson, with about three thousand men, convoyed by some ships of war, with the design of forcing his way past the American defences of the river.]

The country between Burgoyne's position at Saratoga and that of the Americans at Stillwater was rugged, and

seamed with creeks and watercourses; but, after great labor in making bridges and temporary causeways, the British army moved forward. About four miles from Saratoga, on the afternoon of the 19th of September, a sharp encounter took place between part of the English right wing, under Burgoyne himself, and a strong body of the enemy, under Gates and Arnold. The conflict lasted till sunset. The British remained masters of the field; but the loss on each side was nearly equal (from five hundred to six hundred men), and the spirits of the Americans were greatly raised by having withstood the best regular troops of the English army. Burgoyne now halted again, and strengthened his position by field-works and redoubts; and the Americans also improved their defences. The two armies remained nearly within cannon-shot of each other for a considerable time, during which Burgoyne was anxiously looking for intelligence of the promised expedition from New York, which, according to the original plan, ought by this time to have been approaching Albany from the south. At last a messenger from Clinton made his way, with great difficulty, to Burgoyne's camp, and brought the information that Clinton was on his way up the Hudson to attack the American forts which barred the passage up that river to Albany. Burgoyne, in reply, stated his hopes that the promised co-operation would be speedy and decisive, and added that unless he received assistance before the 10th of October he would be obliged to retreat to the lakes through want of provisions.

The Indians and Canadians now began to desert Burgoyne, while, on the other hand, Gates's army was continually reinforced by fresh bodies of the militia. An expeditionary force was detached by the Americans which made a bold though unsuccessful attempt to retake Ticonderoga. Finding the number and spirit of the enemy to

increase daily, and his own stores of provisions to diminish, Burgoyne determined on attacking the Americans in front of him, and, by dislodging them from their position, to gain the means of moving upon Albany, or, at least, of relieving his troops from the straitened position in which they were cooped up.

Burgoyne's force was now reduced to less than six thousand men. The right of his camp was on some high ground a little to the west of the river; thence his intrenchments extended along the lower ground to the bank of the Hudson, their line being nearly at a right angle with the course of the stream. The lines were fortified in the centre and on the left with redoubts and field-works. The numerical force of the Americans was now greater than the British, even in regular troops, and the numbers of the militia and volunteers which had joined Gates and Arnold were greater still. The right of the American position, that is to say, the part of it nearest to the river, was too strong to be assailed with any prospect of success, and Burgoyne therefore determined to endeavor to force their left. For this purpose he formed a column of fifteen hundred regular troops, with two twelve-pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders. He headed this in person, having Generals Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser under him. The enemy's force immediately in front of his lines was so strong that he dared not weaken the troops who guarded them by detaching any more to strengthen his column of attack. The right of the camp was commanded by Generals Hamilton and Spaight; the left part of it was committed to the charge of Brigadier Goll.

It was on the 7th of October that Burgoyne led his column on to the attack; and on the preceding day, the 6th, Clinton had successfully executed a brilliant enterprise against the two American forts which barred his

progress up the Hudson. He had captured them both, with severe loss to the American forces opposed to him; he had destroyed the fleet which the Americans had been forming on the Hudson, under the protection of their forts; and the upward river was laid open to his squadron. He was now only a hundred and fifty-six miles distant from Burgoyne, and a detachment of seventeen hundred men actually advanced within forty miles of Albany. Unfortunately, Burgoyne and Clinton were each ignorant of the other's movements; but if Burgoyne had won his battle on the 7th he must, on advancing, have soon learned the tidings of Clinton's success, and Clinton would have heard of his. A junction would soon have been made of the two victorious armies, and the great objects of the campaign might yet have been accomplished. All depended on the fortune of the column with which Burgoyne, on the eventful 7th of October, 1777, advanced against the American position. There were brave men, both English and German, in its ranks; and, in particular, it comprised one of the best bodies of grenadiers in the British service.

Burgoyne pushed forward some bodies of irregular troops to distract the enemy's attention, and led his column to within three-quarters of a mile from the left of Gates's camp, and then deployed his men into line. The grenadiers under Major Ackland were drawn up on the left, a corps of Germans in the centre, and the English light infantry and the 24th regiment on the right. But Gates did not wait to be attacked; and directly the British line was formed and began to advance, the American general, with admirable skill, caused a strong force to make a sudden and vehement rush against its left. The grenadiers under Ackland sustained the charge of superior numbers nobly. But Gates sent more Americans forward, and in a few minutes the action became general along

the centre, so as to prevent the Germans from sending any help to the grenadiers. Burgoyne's right was not yet engaged; but a mass of the enemy were observed advancing from their extreme left, with the evident intention of turning the British right and cutting off its retreat. The light infantry and the 24th now fell back, and formed an oblique second line, which enabled them to baffle this manœuvre, and also to succor their comrades in the left wing, the gallant grenadiers, who were overpowered by superior numbers, and, but for this aid, must have been cut to pieces. Arnold now came up with three American regiments, and attacked the right flanks of the English double line. Burgoyne's whole force was soon compelled to retreat towards their camp; the left and centre were in complete disorder; but the light infantry and the 24th checked the fury of the assailants, and the remains of Burgoyne's column with great difficulty effected their return to their camp, leaving six of their guns in the possession of the enemy, and great numbers of killed and wounded on the field; and especially a large proportion of the artillerymen, who had stood to their guns until shot down or bayoneted beside them by the advancing Americans.

Burgoyne's column had been defeated, but the action was not yet over. The English had scarcely entered the camp, when the Americans, pursuing their success, assaulted it in several places with uncommon fierceness, rushing to the lines through a severe fire of grape-shot and musketry with the utmost fury. Arnold, especially, who on this day appeared maddened with the thirst of combat and carnage, urged on the attack against a part of the intrenchments which was occupied by the light infantry under Lord Balcarras. But the English received him with vigor and spirit. The struggle here was obsti-

nate and sanguinary. At length, as it grew towards evening, Arnold, having forced all obstacles, entered the works with some of the most fearless of his followers. But in this critical moment of glory and danger he received a painful wound in the same leg which had already been wounded in the assault on Quebec. To his bitter regret, he was obliged to be carried back. His party still continued the attack; but the English also continued their obstinate resistance, and at last night fell, and the assailants withdrew from this quarter of the British intrenchments. But in another part the attack had been more successful. A body of the Americans, under Colonel Brooke, forced their way in through a part of the intrenchments on the extreme right, which was defended by the German reserve under Colonel Breyman. The Germans resisted well, and Breyman died in defence of his post; but the Americans made good the ground which they had won, and captured baggage, tents, artillery, and a store of ammunition, which they were greatly in need of. They had, by establishing themselves on this point, acquired the means of completely turning the right flank of the British and gaining their rear. To prevent this calamity, Burgoyne effected during the night a complete change of position. With great skill, he removed his whole army to some heights near the river, a little northward of the former camp, and he there drew up his men, expecting to be attacked on the following day. But Gates was resolved not to risk the certain triumph which his success had already secured for him. He harassed the English with skirmishes, but attempted no regular attack. Meanwhile, he detached bodies of troops on both sides of the Hudson to prevent the British from recrossing the river and to bar their retreat. When night fell, it became absolutely necessary for Burgoyne to retire again, and ac-

cordingly the troops were marched through a stormy and rainy night towards Saratoga, abandoning their sick and wounded and the greater part of their baggage to the enemy.

Before the rear-guard quitted the camp, the last sad honors were paid to the brave General Fraser, who had been mortally wounded on the 7th, and expired on the following day. The funeral of this gallant soldier is thus described by the Italian historian Botta:

"Towards midnight the body of General Fraser was buried in the British camp. His brother officers gathered sadly round while the funeral service was read over the remains of their brave comrade, and his body was committed to the hostile earth. The ceremony, always mournful and solemn of itself, was rendered even terrible by the sense of recent losses, of present and future dangers, and of regret for the deceased. Meanwhile, the blaze and roar of the American artillery amid the natural darkness and stillness of the night came on the senses with startling awe. The grave had been dug within range of the enemy's batteries; and while the service was proceeding, a cannon-ball struck the ground close to the coffin, and spattered earth over the face of the officiating chaplain."

Burgoyne now took up his last position on the heights near Saratoga; and hemmed in by the enemy, who refused any encounter, and baffled in all his attempts at finding a path of escape, he there lingered until famine compelled him to capitulate. The fortitude of the British army during this melancholy period has been justly eulogized by many native historians, but I prefer quoting the testimony of a foreign writer, as free from all possibility of partiality. Botta says,—

"It exceeds the power of words to describe the pitiable condition to which the British army was now reduced.

The troops were worn down by a series of toil, privation, sickness, and desperate fighting. They were abandoned by the Indians and Canadians, and the effective force of the whole army was now diminished by repeated and heavy losses, which had principally fallen on the best soldiers and the most distinguished officers, from ten thousand combatants to less than one-half that number. Of this remnant little more than three thousand were English.

"In these circumstances, and thus weakened, they were invested by an army of four times their number, whose position extended three parts of a circle round them; who refused to fight them, as knowing their weakness, and who, from the nature of the ground, could not be attacked in any part. In this helpless condition, obliged to be constantly under arms, while the enemy's cannon played on every part of their camp, and even the American rifle-balls whistled in many parts of the lines, the troops of Burgoyne retained their customary firmness, and, while sinking under a hard necessity, they showed themselves worthy of a better fate. They could not be reproached with an action or a word which betrayed a want of temper or fortitude."

At length the 13th of October arrived, and, as no prospect of assistance appeared, and the provisions were nearly exhausted, Burgoyne, by the unanimous advice of a council of war, sent a messenger to the American camp to treat of a convention.

General Gates in the first instance demanded that the royal army should surrender prisoners of war. He also proposed that the British should ground their arms. Burgoyne replied, "This article is inadmissible in every extremity: sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter." After various

messages, a convention for the surrender of the army was settled, which provided that "the troops under General Burgoyne were to march out of their camp with the honors of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery were to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage was to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest."

The articles of capitulation were settled on the 15th of October; and on that very evening a messenger arrived from Clinton with an account of his successes, and with the tidings that part of his force had penetrated as far as Esopus, within fifty miles of Burgoyne's camp. But it was too late. The public faith was pledged; and the army was indeed too debilitated by fatigue and hunger to resist an attack, if made; and Gates certainly would have made it if the convention had been broken off. Accordingly, on the 17th, the convention of Saratoga was carried into effect. By this convention five thousand seven hundred and ninety men surrendered themselves as prisoners. The sick and wounded left in the camp when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops who were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be four thousand six hundred and eighty-nine.

[The British sick and wounded were treated with great humanity, and Gates showed much delicacy of feeling in his intercourse with his captives, avoiding every indication of triumphant display. Congress long refused to carry out the provision for the transportation of Burgoyne's men to Europe, though Gates was in no sense responsible for this. The news of the victory was received with the utmost joy and

enthusiasm throughout America, and produced a radical change in the attitude of the Europeans. France, in particular, at once consented to the treaty, which had been long delayed, and the negotiations towards which had been almost broken off by the preceding tidings of the victorious march of Burgoyne towards Albany.]

WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE.

WASHINGTON IRVING.

[The winter passed by the American army at Valley Forge was a severe one. The troops were worn out with hard service, and greatly needed rest. They were poorly clad, and almost destitute of blankets, and needed more than tents to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, while it was of great importance to remain within reaching distance of Philadelphia and the enemy. The plan adopted by Washington was to build huts for the army at Valley Forge, near the Schuylkill, and about twenty miles from Philadelphia. Here he could keep a vigilant eye on the city, and protect a wide stretch of country. It was a sad and dreary march to Valley Forge. The men were cold and hungry, provisions were scanty, clothing was worn out, while the exposed feet of many tracked the ground with blood. Yet quantities of stores were lying at various points, perishing for want of teams and of money to pay teamsters. Huts were rapidly constructed, and a military village was formed, in which the soldiers were to some degree protected from the wintry weather. But they continued to suffer severely from want of all the other necessities of life. Irving's "Life of Washington" furnishes us a graphic story of life in this winter camp, and of the winter life of the British in Philadelphia.]

DURING the winter's encampment in Valley Forge, Washington sedulously applied himself to the formation of a new system for the army. At his earnest solicitation Congress appointed a committee of five, called the Committee of Arrangement, to repair to the camp and assist him in the task. Before their arrival he had collected the written

opinions and suggestions of his officers on the subject, and from these, and his own observations and experience, had prepared a document exhibiting the actual state of the army, the defects of previous systems, and the alterations and reforms that were necessary. The committee remained three months with him in camp, and then made a report to Congress founded on his statement. The reforms therein recommended were generally adopted. On one point, however, there was much debate. Washington had urged that the pay of the officers was insufficient for their decent subsistence, especially during the actual depreciation of the currency, and that many resignations were the consequence. He recommended not only that their pay should be increased, but that there should be a provision made for their future support, by half-pay and a pensionary establishment, so as to secure them from being absolutely impoverished in the service of their country.

This last recommendation had to encounter a great jealousy of the army on the part of Congress, and all that Washington could effect by strenuous and unremitted exertions was a kind of compromise, according to which officers were to receive half-pay for seven years after the war, and non-commissioned officers and privates eighty dollars each.

The reforms adopted were slow in going into operation. In the mean time, the distresses of the army continued to increase. The surrounding country for a great distance was exhausted, and had the appearance of having been pillaged. In some places where the inhabitants had provisions and cattle they denied it, intending to take them to Philadelphia, where they could obtain greater prices. The undisturbed communication with the city had corrupted the minds of the people in its vicinage. "This State is sick even unto death," said Gouverneur Morris.

The parties sent out to forage too often returned empty-handed. "For some days past there has been little less than a famine in the camp," writes Washington, on one occasion. "A part of the army has been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have not been, ere this, excited by their suffering to a general mutiny and desertion."

The committee, in their report, declared that the want of straw had cost the lives of many of the troops. "Unprovided with this, or materials to raise them from the cold and wet earth, sickness and mortality have spread through their quarters in an astonishing degree. Nothing can equal their sufferings, except the patience and fortitude with which the faithful part of the army endure them." A British historian cites as a proof of the great ascendancy of Washington over his "raw and undisciplined troops," that so many remained with him throughout the winter in this wretched situation and still more wretched plight, almost naked, often on short allowance, with great sickness and mortality, and a scarcity of medicines, their horses perishing by hundreds from hunger and the severity of the season.

He gives a striking picture of the indolence and luxury which reigned at the same time in the British army in Philadelphia. It is true, the investment of the city by the Americans rendered provisions dear and fuel scanty; but the consequent privations were felt by the inhabitants, not by their invaders. The latter revelled as if in a conquered place. Private houses were occupied without rendering compensation; the officers were quartered on the principal inhabitants, many of whom were of the Society of "Friends;" some even transgressed so far against pro-

priety as to introduce their mistresses into the quarters thus oppressively obtained. The quiet habits of the city were outraged by the dissolute habits of a camp. Gaming prevailed to a shameless degree. A foreign officer kept a faro-bank, at which he made a fortune and some of the young officers ruined themselves.

"During the whole of this long winter of riot and dissipation," continues the same writer, "Washington was suffered to remain undisturbed at Valley Forge, with an army not exceeding five thousand effective men, and his cannon frozen up and immovable. A nocturnal attack might have forced him to a disadvantageous action or compelled him to a disastrous retreat, leaving behind him his sick, cannon, ammunition, and heavy baggage. It might have opened the way for supplies to the city, and shaken off the lethargy of the British army. In a word," adds he, "had General Howe led on his troops to action, victory was in his power and conquest in his train."

Without assenting to the probability of such a result, it is certain that the army for a part of the winter while it held Philadelphia in siege was in as perilous a situation as that which kept a bold front before Boston without ammunition to serve its cannon.

On one occasion there was a flurry at the most advanced post, where Captain Henry Lee (Light-Horse Harry) with a few of his troops was stationed. He made himself formidable to the enemy by harassing their foraging-parties. An attempt was made to surprise him. A party of about two hundred dragoons, taking a circuitous route in the night, came upon him by daybreak. He had but a few men with him at the time, and took post in a large store-house. His scanty force did not allow a soldier for each window. The dragoons attempted to force their way into the house. There was a warm contest. The dragoons

were bravely repulsed, and sheered off, leaving two killed and four wounded. "So well directed was the opposition," writes Lee to Washington, "that we drove them from the stables, and saved every horse. We have got the arms, some cloaks, etc., of their wounded. The enterprise was certainly daring, though the issue of it very ignominious. I had not a soldier for each window." . . .

In the month of February, Mrs. Washington rejoined the general at Valley Forge, and took up her residence at head-quarters. The arrangements consequent to her arrival bespeak the simplicity of style in this rude encampment. "The general's apartment is very small," writes she to a friend; "he has a log cabin built to dine in, which has made our quarters much more tolerable than they were at first."

Lady Stirling, Mrs. Knox, the wife of the general, and the wives of other of the officers were also in the camp. The reforms in the commissariat had begun to operate. Provisions arrived in considerable quantities; supplies on their way to the Philadelphia market to load the British tables were intercepted and diverted into the hungry camp of the patriots; magazines were formed in Valley Forge; the threatened famine was averted; "grim-visaged War" gradually relaxed his features, and affairs in the encampment began to assume a more cheering aspect. . . .

The most important arrival in the camp was that of the Baron Steuben, towards the latter part of February. He was a seasoned soldier from the old battle-fields of Europe, having served in the Seven Years' War, been aide-de-camp to the great Frederick, and connected with the quartermaster-general's department. Honors had been heaped upon him in Germany. After leaving the Prussian army he had been grand marshal of the court of the Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, colonel in the circle

of Suabia, lieutenant-general under the Prince Margrave of Baden, and knight of the Order of Fidelity; and he had declined liberal offers from the King of Sardinia and the Emperor of Austria. With an income of about three thousand dollars, chiefly arising from various appointments, he was living pleasantly in distinguished society at the German courts, and making occasional visits to Paris, when he was persuaded by the Count de St.-Germain, French Minister of War, and others of the French cabinet, to come out to America and engage in the cause they were preparing to defend. Their object was to secure for the American armies the services of an officer of experience and a thorough disciplinarian. Through their persuasions he resigned his several offices, and came out at forty-eight years of age, a soldier of fortune, to the rude fighting-grounds of America, to aid a half-disciplined people in their struggle for liberty. No certainty of remuneration was held out to him, but there was an opportunity for acquiring military glory; the probability of adequate reward should the young republic be successful; and it was hinted that, at all events, the French court would not suffer him to be a loser. As his means, on resigning his offices, were small, Beaumarchais furnished funds for his immediate expenses.

The baron had brought strong letters from Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, our envoys at Paris, and from the Count St.-Germain. Landing at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, December 1, he had forwarded copies of his letters to Washington. "The object of my greatest ambition," writes he, "is to render your country all the service in my power, and to deserve the title of a citizen of America by fighting for the cause of your liberty. If the distinguished ranks in which I have served in Europe should be an obstacle, I had rather serve under your Excellency as a

volunteer, than to be an object of discontent among such deserving officers as have already distinguished themselves among you.

"I would say, moreover," adds he, "were it not for the fear of offending your modesty, that your Excellency is the only person under whom, after having served under the King of Prussia, I could wish to pursue an art to which I have wholly given myself up."

By Washington's direction, the baron had proceeded direct to Congress. His letters procured him a distinguished reception from the President. A committee was appointed to confer with him. He offered his services as a volunteer, making no condition for rank or pay, but trusting, should he prove himself worthy and the cause be crowned with success, he would be indemnified for the sacrifices he had made, and receive such further compensation as he might be thought to merit.

The committee having made their report, the baron's proffered services were accepted, with a vote of thanks for his disinterestedness, and he was ordered to join the army at Valley Forge. That army, in its ragged condition and squalid quarters, presented a sorry aspect to a strict disciplinarian from Germany, accustomed to the order and appointments of European camps; and the baron often declared that under such circumstances no army in Europe could be kept together for a single month. The liberal mind of Steuben, however, made every allowance; and Washington soon found in him a consummate soldier, free from pedantry or pretension.

The evils arising from a want of uniformity in discipline and manœuvres throughout the army had long caused Washington to desire a well-organized inspectorship. He knew that the same desire was felt by Congress. Conway had been appointed to that office, but had never entered

upon its duties. The baron appeared to be peculiarly well qualified for such a department. Washington determined, therefore, to set on foot a temporary institution of the kind. Accordingly he proposed to the baron to undertake the office of inspector-general. The latter cheerfully agreed. Two ranks of inspectors were appointed under him,—the lowest to inspect brigades, the highest to superintend several of these. Among the inspectors was a French gentleman of the name of Ternant, chosen not only for his intrinsic merit and abilities, but on account of his being well versed in the English as well as the French language, which made him a necessary assistant to the baron, who, at times, needed an interpreter. The gallant Fleury, to whom Congress had given the rank and pay of lieutenant-colonel, and who had exercised the office of aide-major in France, was soon after employed likewise as an inspector.

In a little while the whole army was under drill; for a great part, made up of raw militia, scarcely knew the manual exercise. Many of the officers, too, knew little of manœuvring, and the best of them had much to learn. The baron furnished his sub-inspectors with written instructions relative to their several functions. He took a company of soldiers under his immediate training, and, after he had sufficiently schooled it, made it a model for the others, exhibiting the manœuvres they had to practise.

It was a severe task at first for the aide-de-camp of the great Frederick to operate upon such raw materials. His ignorance of the language, too, increased the difficulty, where manœuvres were to be explained or rectified. He was in despair, until an officer of a New York regiment, Captain Walker, who spoke French, stepped forward and offered to act as interpreter. "Had I seen an angel from heaven," says the baron, "I could not have been more re-

joiced." He made Walker his aide-de-camp, and from that time had him always at hand.

For a time there was nothing but drills throughout the camp; then gradually came evolutions of every kind. The officers were schooled as well as the men. The troops, says a person who was present in the camp, were paraded in a single line with shouldered arms, every officer in his place. The baron passed in front, then took the musket of each soldier in hand, to see whether it was clean and well polished, and examined whether the men's accoutrements were in good order.

He was sadly worried for a time with the militia; especially when any manœuvre was to be performed. The men blundered in their exercise; the baron blundered in his English; his French and German were of no avail; he lost his temper, which was rather warm, swore in all three languages at once, which made the matter worse, and at length called his aide to his assistance to help him curse the blockheads, as it was pretended, but, no doubt, to explain the manœuvre.*

Still the grand marshal of the court of Hohenzollern mingled with the veteran soldier of Frederick and tempered his occasional bursts of impatience; and he had a kind, generous heart, that soon made him a favorite with the men. His discipline extended to their comforts. He inquired into their treatment by the officers. He examined the doctors' reports, visited the sick, and saw that they were well lodged and attended.

* On one occasion, having exhausted all his German and French oaths, he vociferated to his aide-de-camp, Major Walker, "Viens, mon ami Walker,—viens, mon bon ami. Sacré—G—dam de gaucherie of dese badauts—je ne puis plus—I can curse dem no more."—*Carden*, "Anecdotes of the American War," p. 341.

He was an example, too, of the regularity and system he exacted. One of the most alert and indefatigable men in the camp, up at daybreak, if not before, whenever there were to be any important manœuvres, he took his cup of coffee and smoked his pipe while the servant dressed his hair, and by sunrise he was in the saddle, equipped at all points, with the star of his order of knighthood glittering on his breast, and was off to the parade alone, if his suite were not ready to attend him.

The good strong sense of the baron was evinced in the manner in which he adapted his tactics to the nature of the army and the situation of the country, instead of adhering with bigotry to the systems of Europe. His instructions were appreciated by all. The officers received them gladly and conformed to them. The men soon became active and adroit. The army gradually acquired a proper organization, and began to operate like a great machine; and Washington found in the baron an intelligent, disinterested, truthful coadjutor, well worthy of the badge he wore as a knight of the Order of *Fidelity*.

FRANKLIN IN FRANCE.

JARED SPARKS.

[At the era of Washington's encampment at Valley Forge, three years of war had passed, with very little of advantage to Great Britain in return for the money spent and the efforts made. At the termination of these three years the British army held only the island of Rhode Island, the city and surrounding country of New York, and the city of Philadelphia. The latter they were soon forced to relinquish. Their position there was neatly expressed by Benjamin Franklin, who, when told that General Howe had taken Philadelphia,

replied, "You are mistaken : Philadelphia has taken General Howe." So it proved ; for, after being shut up in that city for eight months, the British were obliged to retreat in all haste, without having derived any advantage from the conquest.

On the other hand, the American cause had materially advanced during this period. The army had developed from a miserably-armed and untrained militia to a well-disciplined force, tolerably well provided with munitions of war. The loss of Philadelphia had not impaired the spirit or strength of the army, while the capture of Burgoyne and his whole force had remarkably inspirited the people of America, and given them a strong hope of ultimate success. In the opinion of able military critics, this event was the turning-point of the war. The loss of the British in this affair outweighed the entire losses of the Americans during the war, while the injury to the prestige of the British arms was equally important. Still more valuable was the way which it opened to efficient aid from Europe. The negotiations for an alliance with France were brought to a favorable termination by the news of the surrender of Burgoyne.

Ere considering these negotiations, a brief review of the few important military events of 1778 may be given. On the 18th of June General Clinton evacuated the city of Philadelphia, and made a hasty retreat across New Jersey to New York. This action was in consequence of the appearance of the French fleet under Count D'Estaing off the capes of the Delaware, with a threat to blockade the British fleet in that river. Washington was making equally threatening demonstrations on the land side. Clinton accordingly decamped, with his army of about eleven thousand men. Washington hotly followed, with a larger army, and brought his antagonist to an engagement near Monmouth. The result of this battle was jeopardized by the early retreat of the vanguard under General Lee, an event which roused Washington to an unusual display of anger. The troops were rallied, however, and a general battle ensued, which continued till nightfall. Clinton took advantage of the darkness to withdraw secretly, with all his force, and hasten towards New York. He reached there without being further molested. Lee, who had been much irritated by Washington's sharp reproof, addressed him two offensive letters. He was arrested in consequence, tried for military misdemeanors, and suspended from command for one year. He never rejoined the army.

An attack by land and sea against Newport was next designed, with the purpose of driving the British from Rhode Island. But before

it could be carried into effect Lord Howe's fleet appeared, and offered battle to the French fleet. Before they could join in conflict they were parted by a violent storm, which greatly damaged both fleets. General Sullivan, who commanded the land force, retired on perceiving the withdrawal of the fleet, and the enterprise was given up. In November, General Clinton despatched an expedition of two thousand men against Georgia. The opposing army here was small and in poor condition for battle, and was easily defeated, Savannah being taken by the British. This was the only important British success during the year. The two principal armies ended the year in much the same position as they had occupied two years before, Washington having control of New Jersey, and the British being confined to New York City and its vicinity. Here they proceeded to defend themselves by intrenchments. The most striking event of the year was the massacre of Wyoming, by a body of Indians and Tories, and the subsequent slaughter in Cherry Valley, New York.

Early in the summer Colonel John Butler and Brant, the Indian chief, led a party of about sixteen hundred savages and Tories against the flourishing settlements of Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania. One of the most terrible massacres in the whole history of America ensued. The garrison of the fort was lured out to hold a parley, and nearly all slain. When the remnant asked for terms of surrender, the terms offered were "The hatchet!" On surrender, the women and children were shut up in the houses and barracks and consumed in a general conflagration. The settlements were then ravaged with fire and sword, with the most cold-blooded cruelty, in which the Tories equalled or even surpassed the Indians.

In October an expedition in retaliation was made against the Indians of the upper Susquehanna. This was followed by another savage incursion, in November, upon the settlers of Cherry Valley, New York. The inhabitants were treated with a barbarity only less than that shown at Wyoming, but the fort succeeded in holding out against its bloodthirsty assailants.

With this rapid review of the military events of the year we will proceed to describe the mission to France, and particularly Franklin's share in it, making our selection from Sparks's "Life of Benjamin Franklin."]

CONGRESS [in 1776] appointed three commissioners, Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, "to transact the

business of the United States at the court of France." They were furnished with the draft of a treaty, credentials, and instructions. The members enjoined secrecy on themselves in regard to these proceedings. Silas Deane was already in France, having been sent thither as a commercial and political agent instructed to procure munitions of war and forward them to the United States, and to ascertain, as far as he could, the views and disposition of the French court. Arthur Lee was in England. Franklin made immediate preparations for his voyage. He left Philadelphia on the 26th of October, accompanied by two of his grandsons, William Temple Franklin and Benjamin Franklin Bache. They passed the night at Chester, and the next day embarked on board the Continental sloop-of-war *Reprisal*, carrying sixteen guns, and commanded by Captain Wickes.

As a proof of Franklin's zeal in the cause of his country, and of his confidence in the result, it may be stated that before he left Philadelphia he raised all the money he could command, being between three and four thousand pounds, and placed it as a loan at the disposal of Congress.

After a boisterous passage of thirty days from the Capes of Delaware the *Reprisal* came to anchor in Quiberon Bay, near the mouth of the Loire. . . . The sloop was sometimes chased by British cruisers, and Captain Wickes prepared for action; but he had been instructed to avoid an engagement if possible, and to proceed directly to the coast of France. By good management he escaped his pursuers, and no action occurred during the voyage. Two days before he came in sight of land he took two prizes, brigantines, one belonging to Cork, the other to Hull, laden with cargoes obtained in French ports.

[Franklin landed at the town of Auray, and reached Nantes on the 7th of December.]

His arrival in France was entirely unexpected. The news of his appointment had not preceded him, this having been kept secret in Congress. It was easily conjectured, however, that he would not come so far without being invested with some important public mission; and the friends of America greeted him with cordiality and lively expressions of joy. . . .

He stayed eight days at Nantes, and then set off for Paris, and reached that city on the 21st of December. He found Mr. Deane there, and Mr. Lee joined them the next day, so that the commissioners were prepared to enter immediately upon their official duties. Shortly afterward Dr. Franklin removed to Passy, a pleasant village near Paris. . . . He remained at this place during the whole of his residence in France.

The intelligence of Franklin's arrival was immediately published and circulated throughout Europe. His brilliant discoveries in electricity, thirty years before, had made him known as a philosopher wherever science was studied or genius respected. His writings on this subject had already been translated into many languages; and also his "Poor Richard," and some other miscellaneous pieces, clothed in a style of surpassing simplicity and precision, and abounding in sagacious maxims relating to human affairs and the springs of human action, which are almost without a parallel in any other writer. The history of his recent transactions in England, his bold and uncompromising defence of his country's rights, his examination before Parliament, and the abuse he had received from the ministers, were known everywhere, and had added to the fame of a philosopher and philanthropist that of a statesman and patriot. A French historian of the first celebrity speaks of him as follows:

"By the effect which Franklin produced in France, one

might say that he fulfilled his mission, not with a court, but with a free people. Diplomatic etiquette did not permit him often to hold interviews with the ministers, but he associated with all the distinguished personages who directed public opinion. Men imagined they saw in him a sage of antiquity, come back to give austere lessons and generous examples to the moderns. They personified in him the republic of which he was the representative and the legislator. They regarded his virtues as those of his countrymen, and even judged of their physiognomy by the imposing and serene traits of his own. Happy was he who could gain admittance to see him in the house which he occupied at Passy. This venerable old man, it was said, joined to the demeanor of Phocion the spirit of Socrates. . . . Courtiers were struck with his native dignity, and discovered in him the profound statesman. . . . After this picture, it would be useless to trace the history of Franklin's negotiations with the court of France. His virtues and his renown negotiated for him; and, before the second year of his mission had expired, no one conceived it possible to refuse fleets and an army to the compatriots of Franklin."

The commissioners were furnished by Congress, in the first place, with the plan of a treaty of commerce which they were to propose to the French government. They were likewise instructed to procure from that court, at the expense of the United States, eight line-of-battle ships, well manned and fitted for service; to borrow money; to procure and forward military supplies; and to fit out armed vessels under the flag of the United States, provided the French court should not disapprove this measure. They were, moreover, authorized to ascertain the views of other European powers, through their ambassadors in France, and to endeavor to obtain from them a recognition

of the independence and sovereignty of the United States; and to enter into treaties of amity and commerce with such powers, if opportunities should present themselves. It was expected that remittances would be made to them from time to time, in American produce, to meet their expenses and pecuniary engagements.

[Their advances were received cautiously by the Count de Vergennes, minister for foreign affairs in the French cabinet, as the court desired to avoid giving open offence to England.]

Notwithstanding this reserve, the court of France had resolved to assist the Americans. A million of livres had already been secretly advanced to Beaumarchais for this purpose. Munitions of war to a large amount were purchased by him, in part with this money, and in part with such other means as he could command. By an arrangement with Mr. Deane, he shipped these articles to the United States, and Congress was to pay for them by remitting tobacco and other American produce. Before the commissioners arrived, Mr. Deane had procured, on these conditions, thirty thousand fusils, two hundred pieces of brass cannon, thirty mortars, four thousand tents, clothing for thirty thousand men, and two hundred tons of gunpowder. They were shipped in different vessels, the most of which arrived safely in the United States.

[In addition there were secretly granted two millions of livres, under the guise of a loan from friends of America, but really from the royal treasury. This money was to be repaid after the war. The commissioners also agreed to furnish five thousand hogsheads of tobacco, on which contract one million livres were advanced. With the money thus received, arms, clothing, etc., were bought and sent to America, while two frigates were built. These secretly-conducted operations were greatly interfered with by the British ambassador, who had spies in every port. Yet the commissioners managed to get all their goods shipped. The sale of prizes by privateers also brought remonstrances

from the British ambassador. Efforts were made to obtain aid in the other countries of Europe, but with little success. The commissioners had more success in obtaining an alleviation of the harsh treatment in England of American prisoners. The American cruisers had now taken enough prisoners to threaten reprisals and to enforce the policy of exchange.]

The multitude of foreign officers applying for letters of recommendation to Congress, or to General Washington, was so great as to be a source of unceasing trouble and embarrassment. Scarcely had Dr. Franklin landed in France when applications began to throng upon him for employment in the American army. They continued to the end of the war, coming from every country, and written in almost every language, of Europe. Some of the writers told only the story of their own exploits; others endorsed the certificates of friends, or of generals under whom they had served; while others were backed by the interest of persons of high rank and influence, whom it was impossible to gratify and disagreeable to refuse. It was in vain that he assured them that he had no power to engage officers, that the army was already full, that his recommendation could not create vacancies, and that they would inevitably be disappointed when they arrived in America.

[Many such officers came to America, some of them of the highest repute, among whom we have already mentioned Kosciusko, Pulaski, Steuben, and Lafayette. To the latter Franklin willingly gave his recommendation, and wrote somewhat enthusiastically to Congress concerning him. His judgment, as we know, was fully sustained by the good conduct of the young French nobleman.]

Dr. Franklin had been ten months in France before the court of Versailles manifested any disposition to engage openly in the American contest. The opinion of the ministers was divided on this subject. Count de Vergennes and Count Maurepas, the two principal ministers, were

decidedly in favor of a war with England, and of bringing it on by uniting with the Americans. Some of the others, among whom was Turgot while he was in the cabinet, disapproved this policy, and the king himself came into it with reluctance. Moreover, the events of the campaign of 1776 afforded little encouragement to such a step. The evacuation of Canada by the American troops, the defeat on Long Island, the loss of Fort Washington, the retreat of Washington's army through New Jersey, and the flight of Congress from Philadelphia to Baltimore, were looked upon in Europe as a prelude to a speedy termination of the struggle. This was not a time to expect alliances. . . .

But the tide of affairs soon began to turn in another direction. In the campaign of 1777 the losses of the preceding year were more than retrieved. The capture of Burgoyne's army, and the good conduct of the forces under General Washington in Pennsylvania, gave sufficient evidence that the Americans were in earnest, and that they wanted neither physical strength nor firmness of purpose. On the 4th of December an express arrived in Paris from the United States, bringing the news of the capture of Burgoyne and the battle of Germantown. The commissioners immediately communicated this intelligence to the French court. Two days afterwards, M. Gérard, the secretary of the King's Council, called on Dr. Franklin at Passy, and said he had come, by order of the Count de Vergennes and Count Maurepas, to congratulate the commissioners on the success of their countrymen, and to assure them that it gave great pleasure at Versailles. After some conversation, he advised them to renew their proposition for a treaty.

[They accordingly called on the Count de Vergennes and submitted to him the draft of the proposed treaty of commerce. He requested,

before deciding, a delay of three weeks, that the King of Spain might be consulted and invited to join in the treaty.]

Before this time expired, M. Gérard again called on the commissioners, and told them that the king, by the advice of his Council, had determined to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce with them; that it was the desire and intention of his majesty to form such a treaty as would be durable, and this could be done only by establishing it on principles of exact reciprocity, so that its continuance should be for the interest of both parties; that no advantage would be taken of the present situation of the United States to obtain terms which they would not willingly agree to under any other circumstances; and that it was his fixed determination to support their independence by all the means in his power. This would probably lead to a war with England; yet the king would not ask, or expect, any compensation for the expense or damage he might sustain on that account. The only condition required by him would be that the United States should not give up their independence in any treaty of peace they might make with England, nor return to their subjection to the British government.

[The treaty was accordingly drawn up and signed, after which the French minister proposed a supplementary *Treaty of Alliance*, to come into effect in case of war between France and England. This stipulated that the allies should make their cause a common one, this being to maintain the independence of the United States. If the Americans gained any territory in Canada they were to retain it, while the French were to have the same privilege in regard to the British West Indies. Each guaranteed to the other all its possessions in America. Trade was to become exactly reciprocal. France disclaimed any idea of gaining territory on the American continent.]

The two treaties were signed at Paris on the 6th of

February, 1778. They were sent to America by a special messenger, and were immediately ratified by Congress. The event diffused joy throughout the country. Washington set apart a day for the rejoicings of the army on the occasion at Valley Forge. All saw, or believed they saw, that, whatever might be the hazards of the war, independence in the end was certain. France was too powerful a nation to be conquered, and she had promised her support to the last. Her interest and safety were deeply involved in the contest, and her honor was pledged. In the enthusiasm of the moment, every heart was filled with gratitude to the French king, and every tongue spoke his praise. His generosity in agreeing to treaties so favorable in their conditions and so equitable in their principles was lauded to the skies; and we behold the spectacle of two millions of republicans becoming all at once the cordial friends and warm admirers of a monarch who sat on a throne erected by acts, sustained by a policy, and surrounded by institutions, which all true republicans regarded as so many encroachments upon the natural and inalienable rights of mankind. In this instance, however, they had no just occasion afterwards to regret that their confidence had been misplaced, or their gratitude improperly bestowed. Every promise was fulfilled, and every pledge was redeemed.

On the 20th of March the American commissioners were introduced to the king at Versailles, and they took their place at court as the representatives of an independent power. A French historian, describing this ceremony, says of Franklin, "He was accompanied and followed by a great number of Americans and individuals from various countries, whom curiosity had drawn together. His age, his venerable aspect, the simplicity of his dress, everything fortunate and remarkable in the life of this American, con-

tributed to excite public attention. The clapping of hands and other expressions of joy indicated that warmth of enthusiasm which the French are more susceptible of than any other people, and the charm of which is enhanced to the object of it by their politeness and agreeable manners. After this audience he crossed the court on his way to the office of the minister of foreign affairs. The multitude waited for him in the passage, and greeted him with their acclamations. He met with a similar reception wherever he appeared in Paris."

From that time both Franklin and the other American commissioners attended the court at Versailles on the same footing as the ambassadors of the European powers. Madame Campan says that on these occasions Franklin appeared in the dress of an American farmer. "His straight, unpowdered hair, his round hat, his brown cloth coat, formed a singular contrast with the laced and embroidered coats, and powdered and perfumed heads, of the courtiers of Versailles."

[The treaties thus entered into were considered equivalent to a declaration of war, and both parties prepared for hostilities, though the actual declaration was not made till later. Meanwhile, Franklin was approached by agents from England, with the ostensible object of arranging some terms of accommodation between America and England, but probably, to some extent, with the real object of entrapping the shrewd American and embroiling him with the French government. Whatever their object, he was too wise to be deceived, and too patriotic to listen to any terms short of a complete independence. Commissioners were also sent to America, to treat with Congress and with the leading Americans. The ill success of this effort has been already mentioned. Franklin continued in Paris, as the American representative, till 1785, taking an active part in diplomatic labors, and assisting in the final treaty of peace.]

THE BON HOMME RICHARD AND THE SERAPIS.

J. FENIMORE COOPER.

[The Revolutionary War, which in its earlier years had been in great part confined to the North, was in its later years transferred to the South, which became the scene of its most important events. During 1779 active operations took place in both regions. In the South the British were endeavoring to reduce South Carolina and Georgia; in the North, Clinton and Washington stood opposed; and in the West Indies the fleets of England and France contended. The fall of Savannah was soon followed by the capture of Sunbury, which gave the British military command of Georgia. They were defeated in an attack upon Port Royal, but soon afterwards General Ash was defeated at Brier Creek, with the loss of nearly his whole army of two thousand men. General Prevost, the British commander, now marched on Charleston, but was compelled to retreat by the advance of the Americans under General Lincoln. In September, the French fleet, under Count D'Estaing, in concert with General Lincoln's army, laid siege to Savannah. The siege continued for a month, when an assault was made, in which the Americans were repulsed with severe loss. This forced them to raise the siege.]

Meanwhile, in the North, desultory fighting continued, but no engagements of importance took place. Governor Tryon headed several expeditions, which resulted only in the barbarous plundering and burning of defenceless towns. During one of these occurred General Putnam's famous feat at Horse-Neck, Connecticut, in which he plunged at the full speed of his horse down a precipitous descent, without injury either from the desperate ride or from the bullets of the enemy. Another brilliant exploit was the capture by General Wayne of the fort at Stony Point, on the Hudson, which had some time before been taken by General Clinton. Wayne arrived near this fortress, unperceived by the garrison, on the evening of July 15. Dividing his force into two columns, and forbidding them to load their muskets, he marched them silently against the post. They were forced to wade through a deep morass, and while here were discovered by the English, who opened on them with a terrible fire of musketry and grape-shot. Yet without a moment's check they rushed impetuously forward,

forced their way with the bayonet, and the two columns met in the centre of the fort, which instantly yielded. More than six hundred of the British were killed and taken, with a large amount of stores. Another important event of the year was General Sullivan's expedition against the Six Nations, of whom only the Oneidas favored the Americans. He penetrated their country, defeated them in a severe encounter, burned their villages and corn, and so intimidated them that they gave much less trouble during the remainder of the war. During the summer Spain declared war against Great Britain, and joined her fleet to that of France.

In September of this year occurred the famous naval battle between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*, which is of sufficient interest to describe in detail. With the exception of this one striking conflict, the naval history of the war is of secondary importance, as compared with the conflict on land. Early in the war the American Congress authorized privateering, and much damage was done to the British shipping by the active rovers of the seas. Efforts were also made to build fleets, and many actions took place at sea, but none of particular interest, during the first half of the war. John Paul Jones, the boldest of American naval commanders of that period, first entered the service on May 10, 1776, in command of the sloop-of-war *Providence*, one of the American squadron of thirteen war-vessels built in 1776. But he first attained celebrity in 1778, as commander of the *Ranger*, of eighteen guns. With this vessel, which is described as being crank and slow, he descended on the coasts of England and Scotland and made an effort to burn the shipping in the harbor of Whitehaven. This attempt proved unsuccessful. He afterwards attempted to seize the Earl of Selkirk, landing and taking possession of his house, from which the earl chanced to be absent. These daring operations created the greatest alarm along the English coast. The *Ranger* afterwards captured the sloop-of-war *Drake*, after a severe combat, and carried her prize safely into the harbor of Brest, though chased repeatedly.

The exploits of the captain of the *Ranger* yielded him so much celebrity that the French government soon after gave him command of the *Duras*, an old Indiaman of some size, which was placed under the American flag and fitted up as a ship of war, being armed with six eighteen-pounders, twenty-eight twelves, and eight nines. The vessel was old-fashioned and clumsy, and had a motley crew, from almost every nation of Europe, with one hundred and thirty-five

marines to keep them in order. This ship, in company with four smaller vessels, the *Alliance*, the *Pallas*, the *Cerf*, and the *Vengeance*, of which only the *Alliance* and the *Cerf* were fitted for war, set sail from L'Orient on June 19, 1779. The name of the *Duras* had previously been changed to the *Bon Homme Richard*, in compliment to Franklin. After a short cruise the squadron returned, and sailed again on August 14. The *Richard* had now nearly one hundred Americans on board, gained from some exchanged American seamen.

After having produced a general alarm along the coast of England by his daring movements, Captain Jones met, on the 13th of September, a British fleet of more than forty sail of merchantmen, convoyed by the *Serapis*, a forty-four-gun ship, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty-two guns. The *Serapis* was a new vessel, reputed a fast sailer, and armed with twenty eighteen-pounders, twenty nine-pounders, and ten six-pounders, making fifty guns in all. She had a trained man-of-war's crew of three hundred and twenty men. This encounter took place off Flamborough Head, within easy view of the English coast.

On learning the character of the fleet, Captain Jones gave the signal for chase, and displayed signs of hostility which alarmed the English ships and caused a hurried flight for safety, while the *Serapis* hauled out to sea, until far enough to windward, when she stood in again to cover her convoy. The *Alliance* and *Pallas*, who were in company with the *Richard*, moved with indecision, as if in doubt whether to fly or fight. The story of the remarkable naval battle which succeeded we select from Cooper's "*History of the Navy of the United States of America*," where it is well told.]

It was now quite dark, and Commodore Jones was compelled to follow the movements of the enemy by the aid of a night-glass. It is probable that the obscurity which prevailed added to the indecision of the commander of the *Pallas*, for, from this time until the moon rose, objects at a distance were distinguished with difficulty, and, even after the moon appeared, with uncertainty. The *Richard*, however, stood steadily on, and about half-past seven she came up with the *Serapis*, the *Scarborough* being a short distance to leeward. The American ship was to windward, and, as she drew slowly near, Captain Pearson hailed. The

answer was equivocal, and both ships delivered their entire broadsides nearly simultaneously. The water being quite smooth, Commodore Jones had relied materially on the eighteens that were in the gun-room; but at this discharge two of the six that were fired burst, blowing up the deck above, and killing or wounding a large proportion of the people that were stationed below. This disaster caused all the heavy guns to be instantly deserted, for the men had no longer confidence in their metal. It at once reduced the broadside of the *Richard* to about a third less than that of her opponent, not to include the disadvantage of the manner in which the force that remained was distributed among light guns. In short, the combat was now between a twelve-pounder and an eighteen-pounder frigate, —a species of contest in which, it has been said, we know not with what truth, the former has never been known to prevail. Commodore Jones informs us himself that all his hopes, after this accident, rested on the twelve-pounders that were under the command of his first lieutenant.

The *Richard*, having backed her topsails, exchanged several broadsides, when she filled again and shot ahead of the *Serapis*, which ship luffed across her stern and came up on the weather quarter of her antagonist, taking the wind out of her sails, and, in her turn, passing ahead. All this time, which consumed half an hour, the cannonading was close and furious. The *Scarborough* now drew near, but it is uncertain whether she fired or not. On the side of the Americans it is affirmed that she raked the *Richard* at least once; but by the report of her own commander it would appear that, on account of the obscurity and the smoke, he was afraid to discharge his guns, not knowing which ship might be friend or which foe. Unwilling to lie by and be exposed to shot uselessly, Captain Piercy edged away from the combatants, exchanging a broadside

or two, at a great distance, with the Alliance, and shortly afterwards was engaged at close quarters by the Pallas, which ship compelled him to strike, after a creditable resistance of about an hour.

Having disposed of the inferior ships, we can confine ourselves to the principal combatants. As the Serapis kept her luff, sailing and working better than the Richard, it was the intention of Captain Pearson to pay broad off across the latter's fore-foot, as soon as he had got far enough ahead; but, making the attempt, and finding he had not room, he put his helm hard down to keep clear of his adversary, when the double movement brought the two ships nearly in a line, the Serapis leading. By these uncertain evolutions the English ship lost some of her way, while the American, having kept her sails trimmed, not only closed, but actually ran aboard of her antagonist, bows on, a little on her weather quarter. The wind being light, much time was consumed in these different manœuvres, and near an hour elapsed between the firing of the first guns and the moment when the vessels got foul of each other in the manner just described.

The English now thought that it was the intention of the Americans to board them, and a few minutes passed in the uncertainty which such an expectation would create; but the positions of the vessels were not favorable for either party to pass into the opposing ship. There being at this moment a perfect cessation of the firing, Captain Pearson demanded, "Have you struck your colors?" "I have not yet begun to fight," was the answer.

The yards of the Richard were braced aback, and, the sails of the Serapis being full, the ships separated. As soon as far enough asunder, the Serapis put her helm hard down, laid all aback forward, shivered her after-sails, and wore short round on her heel, or was box-hauled, with a

view, most probably, of luffing up athwart the bow of the enemy, in order to again rake her. In this position the Richard would have been fighting her starboard and the Serapis her larboard guns; but Commodore Jones by this time was conscious of the hopelessness of success against so much heavier metal, and, after having backed astern some distance, he filled on the other tack, luffing up with the intention of meeting the enemy as he came to the wind, and of laying him athwart hawse. In the smoke, one party or the other miscalculated the distance, for the two vessels came foul again, the bowsprit of the English ship passing over the poop of the American. As neither had much way, the collision did but little injury, and Commodore Jones, with his own hands, immediately lashed the enemy's head-gear to his mizzen-mast. The pressure on the after-sails of the Serapis, which vessel was nearly before the wind at the time, brought her hull round, and the two ships gradually fell close alongside of each other, head and stern, the jib-boom of the Serapis giving way with the strain. A spare anchor of the English ship now hooked in the quarter of the American, and additional lashings were got out on board the latter to secure her in this position.

Captain Pearson, who was as much aware of his advantage in a regular combat as his opponent could be of his own inferiority, no sooner perceived that the vessels were foul than he dropped an anchor, in the hope that the Richard would drift clear of him. But such an expectation was perfectly futile, as the yards were interlocked, the hulls were pressed close against each other, there were lashings fore and aft, and even the ornamental work aided in holding the ships together. When the cable of the Serapis took the strain, the vessels slowly tended, with the bows of the Serapis and the stern of the Richard to

the tide. At this instant the English made an attempt to board, but were repulsed with trifling loss.

All this time the battle raged. The lower ports of the *Serapis* having been closed, as the vessel swung, to prevent boarding, they were now blown off, in order to allow the guns to be run out; and cases actually occurred in which the rammers had to be thrust into the ports of the opposite ship in order to be entered into the muzzles of their proper guns. It is evident that such a conflict must have been of short duration. In effect, the heavy metal of the *Serapis*, in one or two discharges, cleared all before it, and the main-deck guns of the *Richard* were in a great measure abandoned. Most of the people went on the upper deck, and a great number collected on the forecastle, where they were safe from the fire of the enemy, continuing to fight by throwing grenades and using muskets.

In this stage of the combat, the *Serapis* was tearing her antagonist to pieces below, almost without resistance from her enemy's batteries, only two guns on the quarter-deck, and three or four of the twelves, being worked at all. To the former, by shifting a gun from the larboard side, Commodore Jones succeeded in adding a third, all of which were used with effect, under his immediate inspection, to the close of the action. He could not muster force enough to get over a second gun. But the combat would now have soon terminated, had it not been for the courage and activity of the people aloft. Strong parties had been placed in the tops, and at the end of the short contest the Americans had driven every man belonging to the enemy below; after which they kept up so animated a fire on the quarter-deck of the *Serapis* in particular as to drive nearly every man off that was not shot down.

Thus, while the English had the battle nearly to themselves below, their enemies had the control above the upper

deck. Having cleared the tops of the *Serapis*, some American seamen lay out on the *Richard's* main-yard, and began to throw hand-grenades upon the two upper decks of the English ship; the men of the forecastle of their own vessel seconding these efforts, by casting the same combustibles through the ports of the *Serapis*. At length one man, in particular, became so hardy as to take his post on the extreme end of the yard, whence, provided with a bucket filled with combustibles, and a match, he dropped the grenades with so much precision that one passed through the main hatchway. The powder-boys of the *Serapis* had got more cartridges up than were wanted, and, in their hurry, they had carelessly laid a row of them on the main deck, in a line with the guns. The grenade just mentioned set fire to some loose powder that was lying near, and the flash passed from cartridge to cartridge, beginning abreast of the main-mast, and running quite aft.

The effect of this explosion was awful. More than twenty men were instantly killed, many of them being left with nothing on them but the collars and wristbands of their shirts and the waistbands of their duck trousers; while the official returns of the ship, a week after the action, show that there were no less than thirty-eight wounded on board, still alive, who had been injured in this manner, and of whom thirty were then said to be in great danger. Captain Pearson described the explosion as having destroyed nearly all the men at the five or six aftermost guns. On the whole, nearly sixty of the *Serapis's* people must have been instantly disabled by this sudden blow.

The advantage thus obtained, by the coolness and intrepidity of the topman, in a great measure restored the chances of the combat, and, by lessening the fire of the enemy, enabled Commodore Jones to increase his. In the

same degree that it encouraged the crew of the *Richard* it diminished the hopes of the people of the *Serapis*. One of the guns under the immediate inspection of Commodore Jones had been pointed some time against the main-mast of the enemy, while the two others had seconded the fire of the tops with grape and canister. Kept below decks by this double attack, where a scene of frightful horror was present in the agonies of the wounded and the effects of the explosion, the spirits of the Englishmen began to droop, and there was a moment when a trifle would have induced them to submit. From this despondency they were temporarily raised by one of those unlooked-for events that characterize the vicissitudes of battle.

[The event here alluded to was the following. While the fight was taking place between the *Pallas* and the *Scarborough*, the *Alliance* stood off and on, as if in doubt how or where to be of service. She finally approached the *Richard* and *Serapis*, and fired in such a way as to do as much damage to friend as to foe, if not even more. Fifty voices hailed her, calling out that she was firing into the wrong ship. Ten or twelve men seem to have been killed and wounded on the *Richard* by this discharge. The *Alliance*, after some further ineffectual efforts to aid her consort, stood off, and took no part in the remainder of the fight.]

The fire of the *Alliance* added greatly to the leaks of the *Richard*, which ship by this time had received so much water through the shot-holes as to begin to settle. It is even affirmed by many witnesses that the most dangerous shot-holes on board the *Richard* were under her larboard bow and larboard counter, in places where they could not have been received from the *Serapis*. This evidence, however, is not unanswerable, as it has been seen that the *Serapis* luffed up on the larboard quarter of the *Richard* in the commencement of the action, and, forging ahead, was subsequently on her larboard bow, endeavoring to cross her

fore-foot. It is certainly possible that shot may have struck the *Richard* in the places mentioned, on these occasions, and that, as the ship settled in the water from other leaks, the holes then made may have suddenly increased the danger. On the other hand, if the *Alliance* did actually fire while on the bow and quarter of the *Richard*, as appears by a mass of uncontradicted testimony, the dangerous shot-holes may very well have come from that ship.

Let the injuries have been received from what quarter they might, soon after the *Alliance* had run to leeward an alarm was spread in the *Richard* that the ship was sinking. Both vessels had been on fire several times, and some difficulty had been experienced in extinguishing the flames; but here was a new enemy to contend with, and, as the information came from the carpenter, whose duty it was to sound the pump-wells, it produced a good deal of consternation. The *Richard* had more than a hundred English prisoners on board, and the master-at-arms, in the hurry of the moment, let them all up from below, in order to save their lives. In the confusion of such a scene at night, the master of the letter-of-marque that had been taken off the north of Scotland passed through a port of the *Richard* into one of the *Serapis*, when he reported to Captain Pearson that a few minutes would probably decide the battle in his favor, or carry his enemy down, he himself having been liberated in order to save his life. Just at this instant the gunner, who had little to occupy him in his quarters, came on deck, and, not perceiving Commodore Jones or Mr. Dale, both of whom were occupied with the liberated prisoners, and believing the master, the only other superior he had in the ship, to be dead, he ran up on the poop to haul down the colors. Fortunately, the flag-staff had been shot away, and, the ensign

already hanging in the water, he had no other means of letting his intention to submit be known than by calling out for quarter. Captain Pearson now hailed to inquire if the *Richard* demanded quarter, and was answered by Commodore Jones himself in the negative. It is probable that the reply was not heard, or, if heard, was supposed to come from an unauthorized source; for, encouraged by what he had learned from the escaped prisoner, by the cry, and by the confusion that prevailed in the *Richard*, the English captain directed his boarders to be called away, and, as soon as mustered, they were ordered to take possession of the prize. Some of the men actually got on the gunwale of the latter ship, but, finding boarders ready to repel boarders, they made a precipitate retreat. All this time the topmen were not idle, and the enemy were soon driven below again with loss.

In the mean while, Mr. Dale, who no longer had a gun that could be fought, mustered the prisoners at the pumps, turning their consternation to account, and probably keeping the *Richard* afloat by the very blunder that had come so near losing her. The ships were now on fire again, and both parties, with the exception of a few guns on each side, ceased fighting, in order to subdue this common enemy. In the course of the combat the *Serapis* is said to have been set on fire no less than twelve times, while towards its close, as will be seen in the sequel, the *Richard* was burning all the while.

As soon as order was restored in the *Richard*, after a call for quarter, her chances of success began to increase, while the English, driven under cover, almost to a man, appear to have lost, in a great degree, the hope of victory. Their fire materially slackened, while the *Richard* again brought a few more guns to bear; the main-mast of the *Serapis* began to totter, and her resistance, in gen-

eral, to lessen. About an hour after the explosion, or between three hours and three hours and a half after the first gun was fired, and between two hours and two hours and a half after the ships were lashed together, Captain Pearson hauled down the colors of the *Serapis* with his own hands, the men refusing to expose themselves to the fire of the *Richard's* tops.

As soon as it was known that the colors of the English had been lowered, Mr. Dale got upon the gunwale of the *Richard*, and, laying hold of her main brace pendant, he swung himself on board the *Serapis*. On the quarter-deck of the latter he found Captain Pearson, almost alone, that gallant officer having maintained his post throughout the whole of this close and murderous conflict. Just as Mr. Dale addressed the English captain, the first lieutenant of the *Serapis* came up from below to inquire if the *Richard* had struck, her fire having entirely ceased. Mr. Dale now gave the English officer to understand that he was mistaken in the position of things, the *Serapis* having struck to the *Richard*, and not the *Richard* to the *Serapis*. Captain Pearson confirming this account, his subordinate acquiesced, offering to go below and silence the guns that were still playing upon the American ship. To this Mr. Dale would not consent, but both the English officers were immediately passed on board the *Richard*. The firing was then stopped below. Mr. Dale had been closely followed to the quarter-deck of the *Serapis* by Mr. Mayrant, a midshipman, and a party of boarders, and as the former struck the quarter-deck of the prize he was run through the thigh by a boarding-pike in the hands of a man in the waist, who was ignorant of the surrender. Thus did the close of this remarkable combat resemble its other features in singularity, blood being shed and shots fired while the boarding officer was in amicable discourse with his prisoners.

[After the surrender the *Richard* was discovered to be both sinking and burning. The other vessels of the squadron sent men on board, of which one party worked the pumps, while another fought the fire. The flames were at length subdued, but an examination showed that it would be almost impossible to carry the vessel into port. She was accordingly abandoned, and about ten the next day "the *Bon Homme Richard* wallowed heavily, gave a roll, and settled slowly into the sea, bows foremost." The *Serapis*, which was much less injured, was taken safely into port. Thus ended the most extraordinary sea-fight on record, and one which has given to the name of Paul Jones an imperishable fame.]

THE TREASON OF ARNOLD.

JARED SPARKS.

[During the year 1780 military operations were mainly confined to the South. The year opened with a very unfavorable show for the American cause. The alliance with France had not produced the results anticipated, the two years' operations of the French fleet having proved nearly useless to the Americans. The army was low in numbers, and miserably clothed; the country was without money or credit, and its paper currency greatly reduced in value. On the other hand, England had money in abundance, while the military and naval force voted for the year consisted of eighty-five thousand seamen and thirty-five thousand soldiers, in addition to those already abroad.

The earliest British operation in 1780 was the siege of Charleston, which was conducted by General Clinton, aided by a fleet which forced its way into the harbor. On the 12th of May the city was forced to surrender, and General Lincoln and the garrison became prisoners of war. From this point expeditions were sent into the country. One of these seized the important post of Ninety-Six, others scoured the State in various directions, and the cavalry under the remorseless Colonel Tarleton cut to pieces a body of four hundred Americans who were retreating towards North Carolina. The province seeming reduced to tranquillity, Clinton left Lord Cornwallis in command, and returned to New York with a large body of his troops.

Yet the people were not so tranquil as they seemed. Bold guerilla bands soon collected, which gave the invaders unceasing annoyance. Chief among the daring leaders of these bands was Colonel Sumter, a dashing warrior, who not only gained minor successes, but surprised and completely defeated a large force of regulars and tories at Hanging Rock. Another of these active partisan leaders was Francis Marion, a man who has become a hero of modern romance, and who, with a force rarely exceeding from twenty to seventy men, gave the British endless trouble. Dashing from swamp or forest on the foe when in unconscious security, he hesitated not to attack bodies of British and tories two hundred strong, and usually with marked success. Self-possessed, prudent, yet daring, he took the greatest risks, yet never rashly or without judgment, and was alike successful in attack and in escape from pursuing forces.

Meanwhile, General Gates had been sent with a strong army from the North, for the relief of the Southern provinces. He met Cornwallis at Camden, South Carolina, each party seeking to surprise the other. In the battle that ensued the militia quickly gave way, and the regiments which held their ground were overwhelmed and broken by force of numbers. The rout became general, and the Americans suffered a loss of about one thousand men, with all their artillery and ammunition-wagons. Gates retreated to North Carolina, and Sumter's corps was soon after surprised and routed with great slaughter by Tarleton. The province now seemed again reduced, and Cornwallis adopted very severe measures to hold it in subjection. Yet Sumter was soon in the field again, Marion displayed an annoying activity, and a party of tories who had been levied in North Carolina and who committed great atrocities were assailed at King's Mountain by a party of militia and defeated with a loss of three hundred killed and wounded and eight hundred prisoners, the American loss being not more than twenty.

These active operations in the South had no counterpart in the North. In the previous year the British force had been withdrawn from Rhode Island, and only some slight excursions from New York took place. In July, Count de Rochambeau, with a powerful French fleet, arrived at Newport; but no enterprise of importance was undertaken, and the high hopes of aid from the French alliance still proved futile. Yet one event of the highest interest and importance occurred in the North in the autumn of this year,—the treason of Benedict Arnold.

This treasonable act had been long premeditated. Passionate, dis-

contented, constantly persuaded that he was neglected and ill treated by Congress, demanding from that body more than it could or would grant, his disaffection grew extreme. While in command in Philadelphia in 1778, his "illegal and oppressive acts" drew on him the censure of the Council of Pennsylvania, and finally subjected him to a trial by court-martial, which sentenced him to a reprimand from the commander-in-chief. By this time his treasonable sentiments were fully grown, and he began a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, through the medium of Major André. Arnold assumed the name of Gustavus, and André of John Anderson. These letters were disguised under the form of mercantile communications.

Arnold, who wished to injure the American cause and enhance the value of his services to the British as much as possible, now applied for the command of West Point, a post of the utmost value both from its location and from the extensive supply of military stores which it held and covered. His application for this post was heard with surprise by Washington, but was finally granted. He at once privately engaged to deliver West Point to the enemy for ten thousand pounds sterling and a brigadier's commission in the British army. In the negotiations for this purpose Major André acted as the agent of Sir Henry Clinton. He ascended the Hudson in the sloop-of-war *Vulture*, secretly landed, and held a conference with Arnold, in which the terms of the treasonable action were arranged. It proving difficult and dangerous to regain the *Vulture*, André was obliged to attempt a return by land. The events which succeeded we select from Sparks's "*Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold.*"

HAVING no means of getting to the vessel, André was compelled to seek his way back by land. The safest route was supposed to be across the river and in the direction of White Plains. Smith agreed to attend him on the way till he should be out of danger from the American posts. Thus far Arnold's passports would protect them.

All his entreaties being without avail, and having no other resort, André submitted to the necessity of his situation, and resolved to pursue the route by land. Arnold had prevailed upon him, in case he took this course, to exchange his military coat for a citizen's dress. It was

feared that if he was discovered in the uniform of a British officer he might be stopped, and perhaps meet with trouble. And here again Smith was made the dupe of Arnold's artifices. When he expressed surprise that a man in a civil capacity and on an errand of business should come from New York in such a dress, Arnold told him that it was owing to the pride and vanity of Anderson, who wished to make a figure as a man of consequence, and had borrowed a coat from a military acquaintance. Upon this representation Smith gave one of his coats in exchange, which André put on, leaving his own behind. Thus clad, and covered as before with his dark great-coat, which had a wide cape buttoned close in the neck, and the appearance of having been much worn, André was equipped for the journey.

A little before sunset he and Smith set off, accompanied by a negro servant belonging to the latter. They proceeded to King's Ferry, and crossed the river from Stony Point to Verplanck's Point. On their way to the ferry they met several persons who were known to Smith, and with whom he conversed, accosting them in a gay and jocular humor, and assuming an air of ease and unconcern. He even stopped at a sutler's tent near the ferry, and contributed to the merriment of a party of loungers by assisting them in drinking a bowl of punch. André said nothing, but walked his horse slowly along, and was waiting at the ferry when his companion overtook him. Smith had tried, while on the road, to draw him into conversation about the taking of Stony Point the year before, and such other topics as he thought would interest him; but he was reserved and thoughtful, uttering brief replies, and showing no inclination to be interrogated or to talk upon any subject.

[At a late hour in the evening they were stopped by a patrolling

party, led by Captain Boyd, who proved so inquisitive as to give them much annoyance. He was anxious to learn from Smith the "important business" that brought them out, warned them that the Cow-boys were out below, and strongly advised them not to proceed till morning. They took his advice, partly perhaps to avoid exciting suspicion, and sought the house of one Andreas Miller, where they were told they might find quarters for the night.]

They met with a welcome reception, but, coming at a late hour to a humble dwelling, their accommodations were narrow, and the two travellers were obliged to sleep in the same bed. According to Smith's account, it was a weary and restless night to his companion. The burden on his thoughts was not of a kind to lull him to repose; and the place of his retreat, so near the watchful Captain Boyd and his guards, was hardly such as would impress upon him a conviction of perfect security. At the first dawn of light he roused himself from his troubled slumbers, waked the servant, and ordered the horses to be prepared for an early departure.

Having solicited their host in vain to receive a compensation for the civilities he had rendered, they mounted and took the road leading to Pine's Bridge. The countenance of André brightened when he was fairly beyond the reach of the patrolling party, and, as he thought, had left behind him the principal difficulties in his route. His cheerfulness revived, and he conversed in the most animated and agreeable strain upon a great variety of topics. Smith professes to have been astonished at the sudden and extraordinary change which appeared in him, from a gloomy taciturnity to an exuberant flow of spirits, pleasantries, and gay discourse. He talked upon poetry, the arts, and literature, lamented the war, and hoped for a speedy peace. In this manner they passed along, without being accosted by any person, till they came within two miles and a half of Pine's Bridge.

[At this place Smith decided that he would go no further. The Cow-boys had recently been seen in that locality, and he did not care to fall into their hands. He therefore took leave of André, and returned with all speed to his home. On his way he saw Arnold, and gave him an account of the progress of his late companion, of whose true name and actual purpose he was in total ignorance.

The Cow-boys were a set of plunderers, belonging to the British side, who infested the neutral ground between the outposts of the two armies. They were opposed by another set of bandits, called Skinners, professedly on the American side. The populous territory, some thirty miles in width, which formed the field of operations of these merciless scoundrels, was a dangerous locality for a man in André's situation to cross. After parting from Smith he left the road to White Plains, and took the Tarrytown road, having reason to believe that he would there meet with Cow-boys, with whom he hoped to be safe.

It happened that same morning that seven patriotic young men had stationed themselves in ambush on this road, with the object of intercepting suspicious persons, or droves of cattle, that might be seen passing towards New York. Three of them were concealed in the bushes near the road.]

About half a mile north of the village of Tarrytown, and a few hundred yards from the bank of Hudson's River, the road crosses a small brook, from each side of which the ground rises into a hill, and it was at that time covered over with trees and underbrush. Eight or ten rods south of this brook, and on the west side of the road, these men were hidden; and at that point André was stopped, after having travelled from Pine's Bridge without interruption.

The particulars of this event I shall here introduce, as they are narrated in the testimony given by Paulding and Williams at Smith's trial, written down at the time by the judge-advocate, and preserved in manuscript among the other papers. This testimony having been taken only eleven days after the capture of André, when every circumstance must have been fresh in the recollection of his

captors, it may be regarded as exhibiting a greater exactness in its details than any account hitherto published. In answer to the question of the court, Paulding said,—

“Myself, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams were lying by the side of the road about half a mile above Tarrytown, and about fifteen miles above Kingsbridge, on Saturday morning, between nine and ten o'clock, the 23d of September. We had lain there about an hour and a half, as near as I can recollect, and saw several persons we were acquainted with, whom we let pass. Presently one of the young men who were with me said, ‘There comes a gentlemanlike-looking man, who appears to be well dressed, and has boots on, and whom you had better step out and stop, if you don't know him.’ On that I got up, and presented my firelock at the breast of the person, and told him to stand; and then I asked him which way he was going. ‘Gentlemen,’ said he, ‘I hope you belong to our party.’ I asked him what party. He said, ‘The Lower Party.’ Upon that I told him I did. Then he said, ‘I am a British officer out of the country on particular business, and I hope you will not detain me a minute;’ and to show that he was a British officer he pulled out his watch. Upon which I told him to dismount. He then said, ‘My God, I must do anything to get along,’ and seemed to make a kind of laugh of it, and pulled out General Arnold's pass, which was to John Anderson, to pass all guards to White Plains and below. Upon that he dismounted. Said he, ‘Gentlemen, you had best let me go, or you will bring yourselves into trouble, for your stopping me will detain the general's business,’ and said he was going to Dobb's Ferry to meet a person there and get intelligence for General Arnold. Upon that I told him I hoped he would not be offended, that we did not mean to take anything from him; and I told him there were many

bad people, who were going along the road, and I did not know but perhaps he might be one."

When further questioned, Paulding replied that he asked the person his name, who told him it was John Anderson, and that when Anderson produced General Arnold's pass he should have let him go, if he had not before called himself a British officer. Paulding also said that when the person pulled out his watch he understood it as a signal that he was a British officer, and not that he meant to offer it to him as a present.

All these particulars were substantially confirmed by David Williams, whose testimony in regard to the searching of André, being more minute than Paulding's, is here inserted.

"We took him into the bushes," said Williams, "and ordered him to pull off his clothes, which he did; but on searching him narrowly we could not find any sort of writings. We told him to pull off his boots, which he seemed to be indifferent about; but we got one boot off, and searched in that boot, and could find nothing. But we found there were some papers in the bottom of his stocking next to his foot; on which we made him pull his stocking off, and found three papers wrapped up. Mr. Paulding looked at the contents, and said he was a spy. We then made him pull off his other boot, and there we found three more papers at the bottom of his foot within his stocking.

"Upon this we made him dress himself, and I asked him what he would give us to let him go. He said he would give us any sum of money. I asked him whether he would give us his horse, saddle, bridle, watch, and one hundred guineas. He said 'Yes,' and told us he would direct them to any place, even if it was that very spot, so that we could get them. I asked him whether he would

give us more. He said he would give us any quantity of dry goods, or any sum of money, and bring it to any place that we might pitch upon, so that we might get it. Mr. Paulding answered, 'No, if you would give us ten thousand guineas, you should not stir one step.' I then asked the person, who had called himself John Anderson, if he would not get away if it lay in his power. He answered, 'Yes, I would.' I told him I did not intend he should. While taking him along we asked him a few questions, and we stopped under a shade. He begged us not to ask him questions, and said when he came to any commander he would reveal all.

"He was dressed in a blue overcoat, and a tight body-coat, that was of a kind of claret color, though a rather deeper red than claret. The button-holes were laced with gold tinsel, and the buttons drawn over with the same kind of lace. He had on a round hat, and nankeen waistcoat and breeches, with a flannel waistcoat and drawers, boots, and thread stockings."

The nearest military post was at North Castle, where Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson was stationed with a part of Sheldon's regiment of dragoons. To that place it was resolved to take the prisoner; and within a few hours he was delivered up to Jameson, with all the papers that had been taken from his boots.

[Jameson, finding the suspicious papers to be in Arnold's handwriting, and not comprehending all that the incident signified, sent André under guard to Arnold, together with a letter explaining the circumstance. He was induced to recall this order and detain André, but the letter went on. Meanwhile, Washington had arrived in the vicinity of West Point, and sent forward two of his aides to advise Arnold of his approach. They reached there just before the letter from Jameson arrived.]

When the aides arrived at Arnold's house, they found

breakfast waiting, as had been supposed. It being now ascertained that Washington and the other gentlemen would not be there, General Arnold, his family, and the aides-de-camp sat down to breakfast. Before they arose from the table, a messenger came with a letter for Arnold, which he broke open and read in presence of the company. It was the letter which Colonel Jameson had written two days before and despatched by Lieutenant Allen, and it contained the first intelligence received by Arnold of the capture of André. His emotion can be more easily imagined than described. So great was his control over himself, however, that he concealed it from the persons present; and, although he seemed a little agitated for the moment, yet not to such a degree as to excite a suspicion that anything extraordinary had happened. He told the aides-de-camp that his immediate attendance was required at West Point, and desired them to say to General Washington, when he arrived, that he was unexpectedly called over the river and should very soon return. He ordered a horse to be ready, and then, leaving the table hastily, he went up to Mrs. Arnold's chamber and sent for her. With a brevity demanded by the occasion, he told her that they must instantly part, perhaps to meet no more, and that his life depended on his reaching the enemy's lines without detection. Struck with horror at this intelligence, so abruptly divulged, she swooned and fell senseless. In that state he left her, hurried down-stairs, mounted a horse belonging to one of his aides that stood saddled at the door, and rode alone with all speed to the bank of the river. He there entered a boat, and directed the oarsmen to push out to the middle of the stream.

The boat was rowed by six men, who, having no knowledge of Arnold's intentions, promptly obeyed his orders. He quickened their activity by saying that he was going

down the river and on board the *Vulture* with a flag, and that he was in great haste, as he expected General Washington at his house and wished to return as expeditiously as possible to meet him there. He also added another stimulating motive, by promising them two gallons of rum if they would exert themselves with all their strength. As they approached King's Ferry, Arnold exposed to view a white handkerchief, and ordered the men to row directly to the *Vulture*, which was now in sight, a little below the place it had occupied when André left it. The signal held out by Arnold, while the boat was passing Verplanck's Point, caused Colonel Livingston to regard it as a flag-boat, and prevented him from ordering it to be stopped and examined.

The boat reached the *Vulture* unobstructed in its passage; and after Arnold had gone on board and introduced himself to Captain Sutherland, he called the leader of the boatmen into the cabin and informed him that he and his companions were prisoners. The boatmen, who had capacity and spirit, said they were not prisoners, that they came on board with a flag of truce, and under the same sanction they would return. He then appealed to the captain, demanding justice and a proper respect for the rules of honor. Arnold replied that all this was nothing to the purpose,—that they were prisoners and must remain on board. Captain Sutherland, disdaining so pitiful an action, though he did not interfere with the positive command of Arnold, told the man that he would take his parole, and he might go on shore and procure clothes and whatever else was wanted for himself and his companions. This was accordingly done the same day. When these men arrived in New York, Sir Henry Clinton, holding in just contempt such a wanton act of meanness, set them all at liberty.

[We have not space to give in detail the interesting events that succeeded. Some time elapsed before Arnold's flight was discovered, but when it was known, and the contents of the papers found on André were revealed, the whole conspiracy stood bare. Much sympathy was felt for André, and earnest efforts were made by Clinton and others to obtain for him a respite from the fate which awaited him. Washington was full of feeling for him, considering him a young man of great promise and ability, but his feeling for his country was greater. It would be unsafe to permit such an act to escape its proper penalty, and in his answer to Clinton he signified that André could be released only on condition that Arnold should be delivered up to take his place. This could not be complied with, and André was hung as a spy, at noon of October 2, 1781.]

THE COWPENS AND GUILFORD COURT-HOUSE.

GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE.

[Late in 1780 America gained another European ally. Holland, which had long been friendly, began the negotiation of a treaty, whereupon England at once declared war. Thus the English government had three European nations to contend with, in addition to America. Yet Parliament, with undiminished energy, voted a large sum of money for the public service, and ordered the raising of extensive sea- and land-forces.

Washington's army entered the year in a miserable condition as to pay, clothing, and provisions. So great were its necessities that on the 1st of January the whole Pennsylvania division deserted the camp and declared that they would force Congress to redress their grievances. British agents sought to entice them into service under Clinton, but they indignantly refused, and were eventually brought back to duty by a committee from Congress. Yet this mutiny gave rise to earnest efforts to relieve the troops. Robert Morris, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant, undertook to collect the taxes, to supply flour to the army, and freely used his own fortune and credit for the support of the suffering soldiers. The Bank of North America was established under

his care, and did excellent service, and it is said that his exertions alone prevented the army from disbanding, and enabled Congress to prosecute the war with energy.

The military operations of the year were mainly confined to the South. In Virginia the traitor Arnold committed great ravages. Washington formed a plan to capture him and his army, sending Lafayette with a force of twelve hundred men, with whom the French fleet was to co-operate. But the British fleet attacked the French, and forced it to return to Rhode Island, and Arnold, reinforced, continued his destructive inroads.

In South Carolina a new and able general had been placed in command of the American troops. Gates had been removed after his defeat at Camden, and General Greene appointed to the command. Soon after he reached the army, though his force was little over two thousand men, he despatched the brave and daring General Morgan to western South Carolina, in order to check the devastations of the invaders in that quarter. Cornwallis, then about to enter North Carolina, sent Tarleton against Morgan, whom he did not wish to leave in his rear. Orders were given to "push him to the utmost." Of the events which immediately succeeded we select an account from the valuable "*Life of Nathaniel Greene*," by George W. Greene.]

TARLETON, at this time, held the same place in the confidence of Cornwallis which Lee [*Light-Horse Harry*] held in that of Greene. He was bold, active, and enterprising, and had distinguished himself by an adventurous spirit which was in perfect harmony with that of his commander. That he was cruel to a conquered enemy, and merciless in laying waste the districts occupied by the Whigs, does not seem to have been regarded as a taint upon his reputation. But, unlike Lee, he was deficient in judgment, often rash, cautious only when his adversary stood at bay, and boldest in the pursuit of a flying enemy. The order to push Morgan to the utmost was very welcome to him, for he was stronger than the American general by discipline, equipments, and numbers,—his whole force somewhat exceeding eleven hundred men, inclusive

of a detachment from the Royal Artillery, with two pieces.

[Morgan, who had carefully watched the movements of his adversary, fell cautiously back, and on the evening of January 16, 1781, halted at a place named the Cowpens. Here he resolved to give battle. His choice of open ground for his battle-field seemed advantageous to Tarleton, as it gave the latter free room for the use of his dreaded cavalry.]

When Morgan was blamed for fighting in an open country, with a river in his rear, he calmly answered, "I would not have had a swamp in view of my militia on any consideration; they would have made for it, and nothing could have detained them from it. . . . As to retreat, it was the very thing I wished to cut off all hope of. I would have thanked Tarleton had he surrounded me with his cavalry. . . . When men are forced to fight, they will sell their lives dearly. . . . Had I crossed the river, one-half of the militia would immediately have abandoned me."

[The men were scarcely ranged in order of battle when Tarleton came up, and at once prepared for assault. Without heed to the fact that his men were weary from a long march, he thought to crush Morgan at a blow, and boldly charged upon him.]

The American skirmishing line was the first to feel them as they came dashing on, even before their line was completely formed. But all that Morgan asked of his skirmishers was done, and, though compelled to give way before a charge of cavalry, they fell slowly back, firing as they retreated, and had emptied fifteen saddles before they took shelter with the first line.

The English artillery now opened, and the whole line advanced upon the first line of the Americans, who, waiting calmly until the enemy was within one hundred yards, poured in a deadly fire. The English wavered and slack-

ened their pace. Officers were falling at every discharge of the fatal rifle, and a visible confusion began to creep into their ranks. It was but momentary. Trained by severe discipline, and familiar with the sights and sounds of battle, they nerved themselves for the deadly encounter, and still moved firmly forward. For a while the militia held their ground, pouring in volley after volley, and every volley told. But the weight of the whole British line was upon them, and, reluctantly yielding to the pressure, they broke and took refuge behind the Continentals. Thus far nothing had occurred which Morgan had not foreseen and provided for; but the decisive moment was at hand. Would the Marylanders fight as they had fought at Camden?

The English, elated by the retreat of the militia, came forward with shouts and huzzas, quickening their pace, and somewhat deranging their order. The Americans received them with a well-directed fire, and for fifteen minutes the tide of fight swayed to and fro, the British pressing upon the Americans with the whole weight of their compact line, and the Americans holding their ground with undaunted firmness. Then Tarleton, unable to break them, and seeing his own men waver, ordered up his reserve. At this moment Washington [Colonel William] was seen driving before him that part of the enemy's cavalry which had pursued the broken militia, and the militia itself, reformed and still of good heart, came resolutely up to the support of the second line.

The British reserve came promptly into action; and Howard, as he watched it, saw that it outstretched his front and put his right flank in danger. To meet the danger he ordered his right company to change front; but, mistaking the order, it began to fall slowly back, communicating its movement to the rest of the line.

Howard saw at a glance that he could still count upon his men; for, supposing that they had been directed to fall back to a new position, they moved as calmly as they would have moved on parade. Instead, therefore, of correcting the mistake, he accepted it, and was leading them to the second hill on which the cavalry had been stationed, when Morgan came up.

"What is this retreat?" cried the stern old wagoner, in his sternest tones.

"A change of position to save my right flank," answered Howard.

"Are you beaten?"

"Do men who march as those men march, look as though they were beaten?"

"Right! I will ride forward and choose you a new position, and, when you reach it, face about and give the enemy another fire."

But before they reached the spot, came a messenger from Washington, who had charged and broken the English cavalry. "They are coming on like a mob," he said. "Give them another fire, and I will charge them." In a moment the whole line again stood with face to the enemy, who, confident of victory, were eagerly pressing forward, filling the air with their shouts, and too confident and too eager to keep their ranks. In another moment they were shrinking back, stunned and bewildered by the fire of the Americans.

"Give them the bayonet," shouted Howard, and, pressing home his success, led his men upon them in a final charge. The shock was irresistible. Some threw away their arms and sought safety in flight; but far the greater part threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Then an ominous cry began to be heard, and "Tarleton's quarters!" passed with bitter emphasis from mouth to mouth. But

Morgan and his officers, throwing themselves among the men, and appealing to their better nature, succeeded in arresting the impulse of revenge before a life had been taken. When the moment for counting the immediate results of the battle came, it was found that the English had lost eighty killed, ten of whom were officers, one hundred and fifty wounded, and six hundred prisoners. . . . The American loss was twelve killed and sixty-one wounded. Morgan's entire command was about nine hundred and eighty strong. But, allowing for the numerous detachments which his position had compelled him to make, he cannot have had more than eight hundred with him in the battle.

[This signal victory was followed by rapid and skilful movements. Cornwallis was but thirty miles distant, and was nearer than Morgan to the fords of the Catawba, over which lay the direct road to a junction with Greene. Destroying his heavy baggage, Cornwallis began a rapid march towards these fords. Morgan retreated towards them with still greater rapidity, and succeeded in crossing the river two hours before the vanguard of Cornwallis reached the other side. It was evening, and Cornwallis halted, feeling sure of overtaking Morgan in the morning. But that night a heavy rain swelled the river, and rendered it impassable for two days.

Greene, who had left his main body on the Pedee, now arrived and took command, with the idea of disputing the passage and awaiting reinforcements of militia. But the river fell so rapidly that a continued retreat became necessary. Cornwallis destroyed the remainder of his baggage, reduced his men to the lightest marching order, forced the passage of the stream against a guard of militia, and continued the pursuit. Both parties now made all haste to the Yadkin, the Americans again being the first to reach the objective point. But they were so sharply followed that their rear-guard was attacked, and was obliged to abandon part of its baggage to effect a crossing. Here Cornwallis encamped, and again a sudden rise in the river took place, and checked his crossing. These two fortunate events were regarded by many as a direct interposition of Providence in favor of the American cause.

The retreat and pursuit continued, and only ended after Greene had reached Virginia and placed the Dan between himself and his foe. Mortified and disappointed by the result of his energetic effort, Cornwallis abandoned the pursuit, and slowly withdrew to North Carolina. Greene, receiving reinforcements, soon followed, and, with an army increased to forty-four hundred men, advanced to Guilford Court-House, where he took an advantageous position and awaited the enemy. Here Cornwallis attacked him on the 15th of March.]

Shortly after one, the British van came in view, and Singleton opened upon them with his two field-pieces. The English artillery was immediately brought forward, and a sharp cannonade was kept up for about twenty minutes, while Cornwallis was drawing up his men. He formed them in one line, with no reserve; for, knowing their superiority in equipments and discipline, he was resolved to come at once to the bayonet, and drive his adversary before him by one great effort of combined and compact strength. . . .

Watching the intervals of the enemy's fire, Cornwallis pushed his columns across the brook, under cover of the smoke from his own artillery; and the different corps, deploying to the right and left in quick step, were soon ranged in line of battle.

For a moment Greene hoped they would not be permitted to cross the open field unbroken, and every ear was listening eagerly for the sound of the North Carolina guns. But it was a moment's hope; for as the ill-nerved militia saw the enemy advance with firm countenance, and regular tread, and arms that flashed and gleamed in the slanting sun, they began to hesitate, and then to shrink; and when, coming still nearer, he paused, poured in one deadly volley, threw forward his dreaded bayonet, and charged with a shout of anticipated triumph, they broke and fled, throwing away, in the madness of fear,

their guns, most of them still loaded, their cartouch-boxes, and everything that could impede their movements. In vain their officers tried to stem the torrent of flight. Eaton and Butler and Davie threw themselves before them, seized them by the arms, exhorted, entreated, commanded, in vain. Lee, spurring in among them, threatened to charge them with his cavalry unless they turned again upon the enemy. All was useless; terror had overmastered them; and, dashing madly forward, they were quickly beyond the sound of remonstrance or threat.

[The British eagerly pressed onward. And now came the turn of the Virginians.]

Undismayed by the dastardly flight of the North Carolinians, they saw the enemy advance, and, as he came within aiming-distance, opened upon him with the coolness of veterans and the precision of practised marksmen. Symptoms of disorder began to appear in the British ranks, and soon their line became seriously deranged. But still discipline held them together; and, pressing resolutely forward with the bayonet, they compelled the American right to give ground. The left still held firm.

By this time all of the British army except the cavalry had been brought into action; all had suffered from the deadly fire of the Americans; the line was broken and disunited; the corps scattered, from the necessity of facing the different corps of the Americans; and everything seemed to promise Greene a sure victory. Cheered with the prospect, he passed along the line of the Continentals, exhorting them to be firm and give the finishing blow.

And soon, following the retreating right wing of the Virginians, Webster came out on the open space around the court-house, and directly in front of Gunby's Marylanders. Here for the first time discipline was opposed to

discipline. The Americans poured in a well-directed fire, and before the British, stunned and confused, could recover from the shock, followed it up with the bayonet. The rout was complete; and had the cavalry been at hand to follow up the blow, or had Greene dared to bring forward another regiment and occupy an eminence which commanded the field, the fate of the day would have been decided. But these were his only veterans, and the occurrences of the next quarter of an hour showed the wisdom of his determination not to risk any movement that might endanger his last line.

[The left of the Virginians had now given way, and the Second Maryland Regiment broke and fled. But Gunby and Washington fell upon the advancing guards, and drove them back in rout. Cornwallis pressed forward to observe the field, and came near riding into the ranks of the enemy.]

A sergeant of the Royal Welsh Fusileers saw his danger, and, seizing the bridle, guided him to the skirt of the wood. Here the whole scene broke upon him. He saw the rout of his best troops; saw them mixed with their pursuers in irretrievable disorder. The headlong flight must be stayed, or the day was lost, and, with the day, the British army. From a small eminence on the skirt of the wood his artillery commanded the ground of the deadly conflict.

"Open upon them, at once!" he cried.

"It is destroying our own men," exclaimed O'Hara, who was bleeding fast from a dangerous wound.

"I see it," replied Cornwallis; "but it is a necessary evil, which we must endure to avert impending destruction."

O'Hara turned away with a groan. The fire was opened, striking down equally friends and foes. It checked the pursuit; but half the gallant battalion was destroyed. Still discipline retained its controlling and organizing

power. The shattered and disheartened troops were collected and formed anew ; formed amid the dead and dying, for a third of their number lay dead or wounded on the field.

Meanwhile Greene also had pressed eagerly forward to get a nearer view of the field, without observing that there was nothing between him and the enemy but the saplings that grew by the roadside. But Major Burnet saw it, and warned him of his danger, as he was in the act of riding "full tilt" into them. Turning his horse's head, but without quickening his pace, he rode slowly back to his own line.

It was a trying moment. He had heard nothing from Lee, and naturally feared the worst. The enemy were gaining ground on his right, and had already turned his left flank. The failure of the 2d Maryland regiment had confirmed his distrust of raw troops. It was evident also that the enemy had suffered severely. If he had not conquered, he had crippled them. The chief object for which he had given battle was won ; and, faithful to the resolve not to expose his regulars needlessly, he ordered a retreat. The enemy attempted to pursue, but were soon driven back. At the Reedy Fork, three miles from the field of battle, he halted, drew up his men, and waited several hours for the stragglers to come in. Then, setting forward again, he returned to his old encampment at the iron-works of Troublesome Creek.

[The American loss in killed and wounded was about four hundred, while the fugitives who returned to their homes increased the total loss to thirteen hundred. The British lost about five hundred. The result of the battle was little less than a defeat to Cornwallis, who gained no profit from Greene's retreat. In a very short time the latter was ready for battle again, which Cornwallis failed to offer. He soon after retired to Wilmington, while Greene advanced into South Carolina.]

THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

ABIEL HOLMES.

[Cornwallis having led his army to Wilmington, with the purpose of invading Virginia, General Greene boldly returned to South Carolina, and encamped on Hobkirk's Hill, a mile only from Lord Rawdon's post at Camden. Here he was attacked on April 25, and, after nearly winning a victory, was defeated through the flight of a Maryland regiment, whose panic communicated itself to the army. Yet the losses on both sides differed but little, and Lord Rawdon soon found it advisable to retire from Camden, while several British posts were taken by the Americans. The American successes continued, till, by the 5th of June, the British were confined to the three posts of Charleston, Eutaw Springs, and Ninety-Six. Greene besieged Ninety-Six, but failed to take it, and was forced to raise the siege by the approach of reinforcements under Lord Rawdon. This closed the operations for the summer. On the 8th of September, Colonel Stewart, who had succeeded Lord Rawdon in command of the British forces, was attacked by General Greene at Eutaw Springs. The British were at first driven in, but afterwards managed to hold their ground, and after four hours of sanguinary conflict Greene withdrew his troops. During the night Stewart decamped. Soon after this battle the British withdrew entirely from the open country, and confined themselves to Charleston and its vicinity. These events closed the war in the Carolinas, the British having been driven, by Greene's skilful operations, from all their conquests, and confined to the two cities of Charleston and Savannah.

Cornwallis had, meanwhile, left Wilmington and marched north, with the expressed purpose of conquering Virginia. The events which followed this movement were of momentous importance, as they led to a final termination of the war which had so long desolated the country, and enforced the acknowledgment of American independence. For the first time since the formation of the treaty with France the efforts of the latter country became of marked utility to America, and the French fleet and army had the honor of assisting in the closing scene of the war. A description of this important event we select from

Holmes's "*Annals of America*," in which it is given briefly but with clear delineation.]

VIRGINIA was destined to be a theatre of still more decisive operations. Lord Cornwallis reached Petersburg, without much opposition, on the 20th of May, and, forming a junction with Major-General Phillips, was now at the head of a very powerful army. The defensive operations in opposition to this hostile force were principally intrusted to the Marquis de la Fayette. The marquis advanced to Richmond; but such was the superiority of numbers on the side of the British that he retired with his little army, which consisted of about one thousand regulars, two thousand militia, and sixty dragoons. Lord Cornwallis advanced from Petersburg to James River, which he crossed at Westown, and, marching through Hanover County, crossed Pamunkey River. The young marquis followed his motions, but at a guarded distance; and his judgment in the selection of posts, with the vigor of his movements, would have reflected honor on a veteran commander. In the course of these marches and countermarches, immense quantities of property were destroyed by the British troops, and several unimportant skirmishes took place. Earl Cornwallis, who had marched with his army to Portsmouth, was at length instructed by an express from Sir Henry Clinton to secure Old Point Comfort or Hampton Road as a station for line-of-battle ships, and was allowed to detain any part or the whole of the forces under his command for completing that service. A strong and permanent place of arms in the Chesapeake, for the security of both the army and navy, being a principal object of the campaign, and Portsmouth and Hampton Road having been pronounced unfit for that purpose, Portsmouth was evacuated, and the British troops, amounting to seven thousand men, were transferred to Yorktown.

Lord Cornwallis assiduously applied himself to fortify his new posts. While the officers of the British navy were expecting to be joined by their fleet in the West Indies, preparatory to vigorous operations in Virginia, Count de Grasse with a French fleet of twenty-eight sail of the line entered the Chesapeake, and, having blocked up York River with three large ships and some frigates, moored the principal part of his fleet in Lynnhaven Bay. From this fleet three thousand two hundred French troops, commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon, were disembarked, and soon after formed a junction with the Continental troops under the Marquis de la Fayette, and the whole combined army took post at Williamsburg. Admiral Graves, with twenty sail of the line, attempted the relief of Lord Cornwallis; but, when he appeared off the capes of Virginia, M. de Grasse went out to meet him, and an indecisive engagement took place. While the two admirals were manœuvring near the mouth of the Chesapeake, Count de Barras, with a French fleet of eight line-of-battle ships from Rhode Island, passed the British fleet in the night, and got within the capes of Virginia; and by this combination the French had a decided superiority. Admiral Graves soon took his departure; and M. de Grasse re-entered the Chesapeake.

In the mean time, the combined forces of France and America, by an effectual but unsuspected plan of operations, were tending, as to a central point, to Virginia. As early as the month of May, a plan of the whole campaign had been fixed on by General Washington in consultation with Generals Knox and Du Portail on the part of the Americans, and Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier Chastellux on the part of the French, in an interview at Wethersfield. The project was to lay siege to New York in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the

coast in the month of August. In prosecution of this plan, the Northern States were called on to fill up their battalions, and to have their quotas of militia in readiness on a week's notice. The French troops marched from Rhode Island and joined the American army early in July. About the same time, General Washington marched his army from its winter encampment, near Peek's Kill, to the vicinity of King's Bridge; General Lincoln fell down North River, and took possession of the ground where Fort Independence formerly stood; and the British with almost the whole of their force retired to York Island. General Washington was diligent in preparing to commence operations against New York. Flat-bottomed boats sufficient to transport five thousand men were built near Albany, and brought down Hudson's River to the neighborhood of the American army; ovens were built opposite to Staten Island for the use of the French troops; and every movement was made for the commencement of a siege. About the middle of August, General Washington was induced to make a total change of the plan of the campaign. The tardiness of the States in filling up their battalions and embodying their militia, the peculiar situation of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia, the arrival of a reinforcement of three thousand Germans from Europe to New York, the strength of the garrison of that city, and especially intelligence from Count de Grasse that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeake, determined the general to direct the operations of the combined arms against Lord Cornwallis. Having resolved to lead the expedition in person, he committed the defence of the posts on Hudson's River to Major-General Heath, and proceeded on the grand enterprise. While, with consummate address, he kept up the appearance of an intention to attack New York, the allied army, amounting collectively to twelve thousand men, crossed

the North River, and passed on by the way of Philadelphia to Yorktown. General Washington and Count Rochambeau reached Williamsburg on the 14th of September, and, with Generals Chastellux, Du Portail, and Knox, visited Count de Grasse on board his ship and agreed on a plan of operations.

Yorktown is a small village on the south side of York River, whose southern banks are high, and in whose waters a ship of the line may ride with safety. Gloucester Point is a piece of land on the opposite shore, projecting deeply into the river. Both these posts were occupied by Lord Cornwallis; and a communication between them was commanded by his batteries, and by some ships of war. The main body of his army was encamped on the open grounds about Yorktown, within a range of outer redoubts and field-works; and Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton with a detachment of six hundred or seven hundred men held the post at Gloucester Point. The legion of the Duke de Lauzun, and a brigade of militia under General Weedon, the whole commanded by the French general De Choisé, were directed to watch and restrain the enemy on the side of Gloucester; and the grand combined army, on the 30th of September, moved down to the investiture of Yorktown. In the evening the troops halted about two miles from York, and lay all night on their arms. Causeways having been constructed in the night over a morass in front of the British works, the Continental infantry marched the next morning in columns to the right of the combined forces. A few cannon-shot were fired from the British work on the Hampton road; and some riflemen skirmished with the pickets of the Anspach battalions on the left. The two armies cautiously observed each other; but nothing material occurred until evening, when an express-boat arrived at Yorktown with a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to Earl

Cornwallis, giving him assurance that joint exertions of the army and navy would be made for his relief. To this letter is attributed an order for the British troops to quit the outward and retire to the inner position; in compliance with which, that movement was effected before day-break. The next morning, Colonel Scammell with a reconnoitring party, falling in with a detachment of picked dragoons, was driven back, and in attempting a retreat was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. He was an officer of great merit, and his death was deeply lamented. In the course of the forenoon the allies took possession of the ground that had been abandoned by the British.

On the 9th and 10th of October the French and Americans opened their batteries. On the night of the 11th the second parallel was opened within three hundred yards of the British lines. The besiegers being annoyed in their trenches by two redoubts that were advanced in front of the British works, it was proposed to carry them by storm. The reduction of one redoubt was committed to the French; of the other, to the Americans. The Marquis de la Fayette commanded the American detachment of light infantry, against the redoubt on the extreme left of the British works; and the Baron de Vioménil led the French grenadiers and chasseurs against the other, which was farther toward the British right, and nearer the French lines. On the evening of the 14th the two detachments moved firmly to the assault. Colonel Hamilton led the advanced corps of the Americans; and Colonel Laurens, at the head of eighty men, turned the redoubt, in order to take the garrison in reverse and intercept their retreat. The troops rushed to the assault with unloaded arms, and in a few minutes carried the redoubt, with inconsiderable loss. The French were also successful. The redoubt assigned to them was soon carried, but

with less rapidity and greater loss. These two redoubts were included the same night in the second parallel, and facilitated the subsequent operations of the besiegers.

On the 16th a sortie was made from the garrison by a party of three hundred and fifty, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, who forced two batteries and spiked eleven pieces of cannon; but, the guards from the trenches immediately advancing on them, they retreated, and the pieces which they had hastily spiked were soon rendered fit for service. In the afternoon of the same day the besiegers opened several batteries in their second parallel; and in the whole line of batteries nearly one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance were now mounted. The works of the besieged were so universally in ruins as to be in no condition to sustain the fire which might be expected the next day. In this extremity, Lord Cornwallis boldly resolved to attempt an escape by land with the greater part of his army. His plan was to cross over in the night to Gloucester Point, cut to pieces or disperse the troops under De Choisé, and, mounting his infantry on the horses belonging to that detachment, and on others to be seized on the road, to gain the fords of the great rivers, and, forcing his way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, to form a junction with the royal army at New York. In prosecution of this desperate design, one embarkation of his troops crossed over to the Point; but a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats and frustrated the scheme.

In the morning of the 17th several new batteries were opened in the second parallel; and, in the judgment of Lord Cornwallis, as well as of his engineers, the place was no longer tenable. About ten in the forenoon his lordship, in a letter to General Washington, requested that there might be a cessation of hostilities for twenty-

four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to digest terms of capitulation. The American general in his answer declared his "ardent desire to spare the further effusion of blood, and his readiness to listen to such terms as were admissible," and granted a suspension of hostilities for two hours. The general propositions stated by Lord Cornwallis for the basis of the proposed negotiation being such as to lead to the opinion that the terms of capitulation might without much difficulty be adjusted, the suspension of hostilities was prolonged through the night. Commissioners were appointed the next day to digest into form such articles as General Washington had drawn up and proposed to Lord Cornwallis; and early the next morning the American general sent them to his lordship with a letter expressing his expectation that they would be signed by eleven, and that the garrison would march out by two in the afternoon. Lord Cornwallis, submitting to a necessity absolutely inevitable, surrendered the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester Point with the garrison, and the shipping in the harbor with the seamen, to the land and naval officers of America and France. By the articles of capitulation, the officers were to retain their side-arms and private property. The soldiers, accompanied by a due proportion of officers, were to remain in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania; and the officers not required for this service were to be allowed to go on parole to Europe or to any maritime port occupied by the English in America.

The garrison marched out of the town with colors cased; and General Lincoln, by appointment, received the submission of the royal army precisely in the same manner in which the submission of his own army had been previously made at the surrender of Charleston.

[The army and officers, and particularly the artillerists and engi-

neers, received great approbation for their excellent conduct in this decisive operation. Several of the officers were promoted, others were honorably mentioned, while the Count de Rochambeau received the highest acknowledgments. Congress passed resolutions of thanks to the French officers and army, and resolved that a monument should be erected at Yorktown in commemoration of the triumphant event.]

General Washington, on this very joyful occasion, ordered that those who were under arrest should be pardoned and set at liberty, and closed his orders in the following pious and impressive manner: "Divine service shall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and divisions. The commander-in-chief recommends that all the troops that are not upon duty do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Divine Providence in our favor claims." Congress resolved to go in solemn procession to the Dutch Lutheran church, to return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied arms with success, and issued a proclamation appointing the 13th day of December "as a day of general thanksgiving and prayer, on account of this signal interposition of Divine Providence."

[Although some minor hostilities continued, the surrender of Cornwallis virtually ended the war, which now grew strongly unpopular in England. Commissioners for negotiating peace were soon after appointed. On the part of the United States these were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens; on the part of Great Britain, Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald. Provisional articles were agreed to on November 30, and a cessation of hostilities was ordered on January 20 of the following year. During this year the independence of the United States was generally acknowledged throughout Europe, and the final treaty of peace was signed on September 3. The British had been compelled to evacuate Savannah and Charleston during 1782, and on the 25th of November, 1783, New York was evacuated, and the country finally freed of the foe against whom its people had so long and so bitterly contended.]

SECTION VIII.

THE UNION FOUNDED AND SUSTAINED.

THE ARMY AND COUNTRY AFTER THE WAR.

JOHN MARSHALL.

[The close of the Revolutionary War found America in anything but an enviable state. Financially there was a complete collapse. The army, unpaid, and with no prospect of being paid, was in a desperate and dangerous mood. The only man who possessed any controlling influence over it was its illustrious commander; and had he been ambitious of power the newly-formed government might have been overturned, and a monarchy erected upon its ruins. Happily, Washington was a patriot in the fullest sense. His one controlling thought was the good of his country, and all his great influence was used to abate the discontent of the soldiers, and to remove the perils which threatened the infant republic.]

The country had become virtually bankrupt. The year 1782 opened without a dollar in the public treasury. Congress had required the payment of two millions on the 1st of April, yet not a cent had been received by the 23d of that month. Rigid reforms in expenditure had been introduced, yet the absolutely necessary expenses could not be met, and on the 1st of June only twenty thousand dollars, little more than was required for the use of one day, had reached the treasury. Robert Morris, the minister of finance, made every possible exertion to sustain the public credit. The bank he had established at Philadelphia, and the system of credit he had inaugurated, were of the utmost utility; but they could not accomplish miracles, and miracles were needed to pay money out of an empty purse.

Fortunately for America, the British public was thoroughly tired of

the war, and the sentiment in Parliament soon became overpoweringly in favor of peace. Yet it was not certain that peace would be declared, while it was evident that Great Britain was seeking to make terms with the European allies of America. No important warlike operations took place, however. The British army lay quietly in New York, and its commander took measures to restrain those incursions of hostile Indians upon the frontier settlements which had formed a terrible part of the British policy during the war. That the commissioners at Paris would succeed in making a treaty of peace became evident as time went on. Yet the army was still under arms, and still unpaid. The States grew more and more lax in forwarding their contributions to the minister of finance, and Congress was without power to lay a tax, or to enforce payment from the States. A state of affairs had been reached in which the fatal weakness of the established form of union became evident, and the necessity of a stronger central government vitally apparent. By the month of August only eighty thousand dollars had been received from all the States, a sum barely sufficient for the subsistence of the army. To pay the troops was impossible, and nearly every other debt remained unpaid. The events which succeeded this distressing state of affairs may be given in a selection from Chief-Justice Marshall's "*Life of George Washington*," in which they are detailed at length.]

It was then in contemplation to reduce the army, by which many of the officers would be discharged. While the general declared, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of War, his conviction of the alacrity with which they would retire into private life, could they be placed in a situation as eligible as that they had left to enter into the service, he added, "Yet I cannot help fearing the result of the measure, when I see such a number of men goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past, and of anticipation on the future, about to be turned into the world, soured by penury, and what they call the ingratitude of the public; involved in debts, without one farthing of money to carry them home, after having spent the flower of their days, and, many of them, their patrimo-

nies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country, and having suffered everything which human nature is capable of enduring on this side of death. I repeat it, when I reflect on these irritable circumstances, unattended by one thing to soothe their feelings or brighten the gloomy prospect, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow of a very serious and distressing nature. . . . You may rely upon it, the patience and long-suffering of this army are almost exhausted, and there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant. While in the field, I think it may be kept from breaking out into acts of outrage; but when we retire into winter-quarters (unless the storm be previously dissipated) I cannot be at ease respecting the consequences. It is high time for a peace."

[A resolution had been passed in 1780, granting half-pay for life to the officers. Yet not only was there no prospect of money to meet this requirement, but a spirit unfriendly to the law had arisen in Congress. This legislative hostility increased the irritation of the officers. In October the army went into winter-quarters. Washington remained in camp, not through fear of military operations, but from dread of some outbreak of violence in the army.]

In America the approach of peace, combined with other causes, produced a state of things highly interesting and critical. There was much reason to fear that Congress possessed neither the power nor the inclination to comply with its engagements to the army; and the officers who had wasted their fortunes and their prime of life in unrewarded service could not look with unconcern at the prospect which was opening to them. In December, soon after going into winter-quarters, they presented a petition to Congress, respecting the money actually due them, and the commutation of the half-pay stipulated by the resolution of October, 1780, for a sum in gross, which they

flattered themselves would be less objectionable than the half-pay establishment.

[There was a strong party in Congress jealous of and hostile to the demands of the army. The question of funding the public debt, whether in State or Continental securities, was also a subject of slow debate.]

In consequence of these divisions on the most interesting points, the business of the army advanced slowly ; and the important question regarding the commutation of their half-pay remained undecided in March, when intelligence was received of the signature of the preliminary and eventual articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain.

Soured by their past sufferings, their present wants, and their gloomy prospects, and exasperated by the neglect with which they believed themselves to be treated, and by the injustice supposed to be meditated against them, the ill-temper of the army was almost universal, and seemed to require only a slight impulse to give it activity. To render this temper the more dangerous, an opinion had been insinuated, that the commander-in-chief was restrained by extreme delicacy from advocating their interests with that zeal which his feelings and knowledge of their situation had inspired. Early in March a letter was received from their committee in Philadelphia, showing that the objects they solicited had not been obtained. On the 10th of that month an anonymous paper was circulated, requiring a meeting of the general and field officers at the public building on the succeeding day at eleven in the morning. . . .

On the same day was privately circulated an address to the army, admirably well prepared to work on the passions of the moment and to conduct them to the most desperate resolutions. . . .

Persuaded as the officers in general were of the indisposition of government to remunerate their services, this eloquent and passionate address, dictated by genius and by feeling, found in almost every bosom a kindred though latent sentiment, prepared to receive its impression. Like a train to which a torch is applied, the passions quickly caught its flame, and nothing seemed to be required but the assemblage invited on the succeeding day to communicate the conflagration to the combustible mass, and to produce an explosion alike tremendous and ruinous.

Fortunately, the commander-in-chief was in camp. His characteristic firmness and decision did not fail him in this crisis. The occasion required that his measures should be firm, yet prudent and conciliatory; evincive of his firm determination to oppose any rash proceedings, but calculated to assuage the irritation which was excited and to restore a confidence in government. This course he at once adopted. Knowing well that it was much easier to avoid intemperate measures than to correct them, he thought it of essential importance to prevent the immediate meeting of the officers; but, knowing also that a sense of injury and fear of injustice had made a deep impression on them, and that their sensibilities were all alive to the proceedings of Congress on their memorial, he thought it more advisable to guide than to discountenance their deliberations on that interesting subject.

[Washington's efforts in this direction proved successful. Though the anonymous writer circulated another insidious document on the succeeding day, the admirable address made them by the commander-in-chief powerfully impressed the officers, and drew from them a series of resolutions expressive of confidence in Congress and the country and strongly condemning the sentiments of the unknown writer. Washington then wrote to Congress, and induced that body to pass the commutation resolution.]

The treaty between the United States and Great Britain being eventual, it furnished no security against a continuance of the calamities of war; and the most serious fears were entertained that the difficulties opposed to a general pacification would not be removed. These fears were entirely dispelled by a letter from the Marquis de La Fayette announcing a general peace. This intelligence, though not official, was certain; and orders were immediately issued recalling all armed vessels cruising under the authority of the United States. Early in April the copy of a declaration published in Paris, and signed by the American commissioners, notifying the exchange of ratifications of the preliminary articles between Great Britain and France, was received; and the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed.

The attention of Congress might now safely be turned to the reduction of the Continental army. This was a critical operation, and, in the present state of the funds, by no means exempt from danger. Independent of the anxieties which the officers would naturally feel respecting their future provision, which of necessity remained unsecured, large arrears of pay were due to them, the immediate receipt of part of which was necessary to supply the most urgent wants. To disband an army to which the government was greatly indebted, without furnishing the means of conveying the individuals who composed it to their respective homes, could scarcely be undertaken; and Congress was unable to advance the pay of a single month.

Although for the year 1782 eight million had been required, the payments made into the public treasury under that requisition had amounted to only four hundred and twenty thousand and thirty-one dollars and twenty-nine ninetieths, and the foreign loans had not been sufficient

to defray expenses it was impossible to avoid. At the close of that year the expenditures of the superintendent of the finances had exceeded his receipts four hundred and four thousand seven hundred and thirteen dollars and nine ninetieths, and the excess continued to increase.

[Congress, in this dilemma, instructed the commander-in-chief to grant furloughs freely to the officers and men, hoping thus quietly to reduce the army. This order produced serious alarm. It was supposed that the authorities were seeking to get rid of them without paying them, and Washington's persuasions and influence were again necessary to quiet the murmurs. He succeeded in this troublesome task.]

The utmost good temper was universally manifested, and the arrangements for retiring on furlough were made without a murmur. In the course of the summer a considerable proportion of the troops enlisted for three years were also permitted to return to their homes; and in October a proclamation was issued by Congress declaring all those who had engaged for the war to be discharged on the third of December.

While these excellent dispositions were manifested by the veterans serving under the immediate eye of their patriot chief, the government was exposed to insult and outrage from the mutinous spirit of a small party of new levies. About eighty of this description of troops belonging to the State of Pennsylvania were stationed at Lancaster. Revolting against the authority of their officers, they marched in a body to Philadelphia, with the avowed purpose of obtaining a redress of their grievances from the Executive Council of the State. The march of these insolent mutineers was unobstructed, and after arriving in Philadelphia they were joined by some other troops quartered in the barracks, so as to amount to about three hundred men. They then marched in military parade,

with fixed bayonets, to the State-House, where Congress and the Executive Council of the State were sitting. After placing sentinels at all the doors, they sent in a written message, threatening the President and Council of the State to let loose an enraged soldiery upon them if their demands were not gratified in twenty minutes. Although the resentments of this banditti were not directed particularly against Congress, the government of the Union was grossly insulted, and those who administered it were blockaded for several hours by an insolent and licentious soldiery. After remaining in this situation about three hours, Congress separated, having fixed on Princeton as the place at which they should reassemble.

On receiving information of this outrage, the commander-in-chief instantly detached fifteen hundred men under the command of Major-General Howe to suppress the mutiny. The indignation which this insult to the civil authority had occasioned, and the mortification with which he viewed the misconduct of any portion of the American troops, were strongly marked in his letter written on that occasion to the President of Congress. . . .

Before the detachment from the army could reach Philadelphia, the disturbances were in a great degree quieted without bloodshed; but Major-General Howe was ordered by Congress to continue his march into Pennsylvania, "in order that immediate measures might be taken to confine and bring to trial all such persons belonging to the army as have been principally active in the late mutiny; to disarm the remainder; and to examine fully into all the circumstances relating thereto." . . .

At length, on the 25th of November, the British troops evacuated New York, and a detachment from the American army took possession of that town.

The guards being posted for the security of the citizens,

General Washington, accompanied by Governor Clinton, and attended by many civil and military officers and a large number of respectable inhabitants on horseback, made his public entry into the city, where he was received with every mark of respect and attention. His military course was now on the point of terminating; and previous to divesting himself of the supreme command he was about to bid adieu to his comrades in arms.

This affecting interview took place on the fourth of December. At noon, the principal officers of the army assembled at Frances' tavern; soon after which their beloved commander entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to them and said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you; I most devoutly wish that your later days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drunk, he added, "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you if each of you will come and take me by the hand." General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Incapable of utterance, Washington grasped his hand, and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. In every eye was the tear of dignified sensibility; and not a word was articulated to interrupt the majestic silence and the tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light infantry, and walked to Whitehall, where a barge waited to carry him to Powles' Hook. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and, waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment, and,

after the barge had left them, returned in the same solemn manner to the place where they had assembled.

[Washington proceeded to Annapolis, where Congress was then in session, in order to resign his commission into their hands. He reached there on December 19. It was determined that the ceremony should take place on Tuesday, December 23.]

When the hour arrived for performing a ceremony so well calculated to recall to the mind the various interesting scenes which had passed since the commission now to be returned was granted, the gallery was crowded with spectators; and many respectable persons, among whom were the legislative and executive characters of the State, several general officers, and the consul-general of France, were admitted on the floor of Congress.

The representatives of the sovereignty of the Union remained seated and covered. The spectators were standing and uncovered. The general was introduced by the secretary, and conducted to a chair. After a decent interval, silence was commanded, and a short pause ensued. The President then informed him that "The United States in Congress assembled were prepared to receive his communications." With a native dignity improved by the solemnity of the occasion, the general rose and delivered the following address:

"MR. PRESIDENT,—

"The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and

sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence,—a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of heaven.

“The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

“I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

“Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

[This patriotic renunciation of power by Washington, so different from the example of Cæsar, Cromwell, and other military heroes, who

have ended wars at the head of victorious armies and with a country at their mercy, has deservedly excited the admiration of the world, and stamps George Washington as one of the greatest men that ever led an army to battle. His address to Congress was eloquently replied to by General Mifflin, the President of that body, after which he retired to Mount Vernon, exchanging the labors of the camp for the industries of a farm, and bearing with him the esteem not only of his own countrymen, but of all civilized mankind.

The financial result of the war was a foreign debt of eight millions and a domestic debt of more than thirty millions of dollars. The paper money of the Confederacy had become worthless, while the States were very slow in supplying money to pay the arrears due the soldiers and the other pressing debts. They had their own local debts to provide for, and their governments to support. The country was impoverished, and taxes could not be collected. Some of the States endeavored, by heavy taxation, to raise money to satisfy their creditors. In consequence of the disorganized condition of affairs, and the general distress, a serious insurrection, known as "Shays' Rebellion," broke out in Massachusetts, which it took a military force of several thousand men to suppress. It was becoming increasingly evident that the hands of the central government must be strengthened and new methods of administration adopted, or the confederacy of the States would ere long fall to pieces of its own weight.]

THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM.

[The Articles of Confederation of the United States of America were finally ratified on the 1st of March, 1781, and announced to the public amid discharges of cannon on land and from the vessels in the Delaware, conspicuous among which was the Ariel frigate, Paul Jones commanding. Yet the Articles were scarcely confirmed, amid panegyrics both at home and abroad upon the government thus instituted, when they proved lamentably insufficient. Powers which had been before exercised by Congress were taken from it by the Articles,—par-

ticularly the control of commerce. Congress could obtain a revenue only by requisitions upon the States; it had no common executive, no machinery by which to enforce its decrees, and formed rather a consulting body than a governmental power.

Yet the Confederacy had its merits. It settled the long dispute between Connecticut and Pennsylvania,—one of the few instances of the adjustment of quarrels between independent States by an arbitrating body. It met the pressing needs of the time, and served as an educational institution whose defects were lessons of the utmost value to the statesmen of America. It soon became generally felt that a change was necessary. Adams, Hamilton, Washington, and others deplored the weakness of Congress. A bill was passed recommending the States to lay an impost of five per cent. on imported goods. Some States acceded to this measure; others failed to do so. Madison, consequently, urged "the necessity of arming Congress with coercive powers," in order to force the delinquent States to do their duty.

The conclusion of the war, and the establishment of peaceful relations between the United States and England, made the need of a revision of the governmental organization yet more clearly evident. Robert Morris wrote, "The necessity of strengthening our confederacy, providing for our debts, and forming some federal constitution, begins to be most seriously felt." Great Britain adopted measures calculated to create disunion between the States, endeavoring to treat with them as individuals. The war was succeeded by a commercial conflict, in which the recent enemy of the States sought in every way to restrict and hamper their commerce, adopting measures which the Confederacy proved inadequate to combat.

It had become strikingly evident that a stronger government must be organized, and the legislators of the country applied themselves to the task. Most prominent among these advocates of a change of government were Hamilton and Madison. These two men, both of them of unusual intellectual ability and thorough education in statesmanship, radically differed in views. Hamilton supported the aristocratic sentiment, distrusted the capacity of the people for self-government, and tended towards the formation of a vigorously centralized nation. Madison held opposite opinions, and advocated democratic doctrines. Minor differences of opinion existed. Franklin held to his long-entertained view of a single legislative body. Richard Henry Lee objected to giving Congress the power to regulate commerce. Madison proposed to give Congress authority to veto State laws. He was also

the first to propose a government for the Union acting upon individuals instead of upon States. Washington took an active part in these expressions of opinion, and wisely remarked, "I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation without having lodged somewhere a power that will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State governments extends over the several States." The succeeding events, which resulted in the formation and adoption of the Constitution of the United States, are admirably described in Frothingham's "*Rise of the Republic of the United States*," from which work we select a digest of this highly important legislative proceeding.]

THE method of obtaining an American Constitution through a representative convention was historical, and was suggested when the idea was to form a union that should be consistent with allegiance to the crown. It was renewed in the speculations on independence, and in "*Common Sense*," in 1776. When the aim was to reform the Confederation, a convention was suggested by Hamilton in 1780; by Pelatiah Webster in 1781; by the New York legislature in 1782; was named in Congress by Hamilton in 1783; was proposed by Richard Henry Lee in a letter in 1784; and was recommended by Governor Bowdoin in a speech to the Massachusetts legislature in 1785. No action, however, grew out of these suggestions. In 1786, the Assembly of Virginia, under the lead of Madison, appointed commissioners to meet in convention and consider the question of commerce, with the view of altering the Articles of Confederation; and it was made the duty of this committee to invite all the States to concur in the measure.

[The convention met at Annapolis, with delegates from five States, on September 11, 1786. The representation was so partial that no action was taken, other than to urge the appointment of commissioners from all the States, to meet in Philadelphia, on the second Monday of

the next May, to consider such measures as were necessary to adapt the Federal Constitution to the exigencies of the Union.]

In the mean time, national affairs grew worse. To the chronic neglect to comply with the requisitions of Congress, the New Jersey legislature added positive refusal by an act of legislation. The legislatures of States having ports for foreign commerce taxed the people of other States trading through them; others taxed imports from sister States; in other instances the navigation-laws treated the people of other States as aliens. The authority of Congress was disregarded by violating not only the treaty of Paris, but treaties with France and Holland. . . .

This was the period of "Shays' Rebellion" in Massachusetts, in which the spirit and example of disobedience to law, exhibited for years by the local legislatures, broke out among a people. It created a profound impression. At home it seemed a herald of approaching anarchy; abroad it exalted the hopes of monarchists and was regarded as the knell of republicanism. The treason was easily subdued by a military force, under General Lincoln, called out by Governor Bowdoin. It was the first rising in arms against a government established by the people in this State, and thus far has proved the last. It had the effect to ripen the public mind for a general government.

[Immediately after this event (November 9, 1786), Virginia appointed commissioners to the projected convention. Other States quickly followed, all the States electing delegates except Rhode Island.]

The delegates elect were summoned to meet in Philadelphia on the fourteenth day of May [1787], in Independence Hall; but, a majority of the States not being then represented, those present adjourned from day to day until the twenty-fifth. They then organized into a convention,

and elected George Washington as President. Sixty-five delegates had been chosen; ten, however, did not take their seats. The credentials, generally, are like those of Virginia, which name, as the object, to devise "such further provisions as may be necessary to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

The members were identified with the heroic and wise counsels of the Revolution. The venerable Franklin was in the Albany Convention, and now, at eighty-one, was the President of Pennsylvania. Johnson of Connecticut, Rutledge of South Carolina, and Dickinson, were in the Stamp Act Congress. Seven of the delegates were in the Congress of 1774. Eight of them signed the Declaration of Independence, one of whom, James Wilson, was next to Madison in ability, culture, and preparation for the work before them. Eighteen were then members of Congress, and only twelve had not been members of this body. Among the great men who were elected, but declined, were Richard Caswell and Patrick Henry. The delegates most distinguished by Revolutionary service were Langdon, Gerry, Sherman, Livingston, Read, Mifflin, Morris, Clymer, Wilson, Mason, Wythe, Rutledge, Randolph, the two Pinckneys, Madison, Hamilton, Dickinson, Franklin, and Washington. Of those who were destined to be widely known were Rufus King, Caleb Strong, Nathaniel Gorham, Oliver Ellsworth, Jared Ingersoll, and James McHenry. This roll of names marks the rank of this assembly as to intellect, character, experience, and patriotism.

The Convention was occupied for nearly four months (May 25 to September 17) in its great labor. Its sessions were held with closed doors; secrecy was enjoined,—no member being even allowed to copy from its journal; and little transpired of its proceedings until its adjournment. Its journal was intrusted to the keeping of Washington,

who deposited it in the State Department. It was printed by direction of Congress in 1818. Robert Yates, one of the members from New York, made short notes of the debates in the earlier sessions, which were printed in 1821; and Madison took short-hand notes of each day's doings, which he wrote out daily. They were printed in 1840. Luther Martin, in a remarkable letter addressed to the legislature of Maryland, gave important information concerning the Convention. These and other authentic materials furnish nearly a complete view of the process by which the Constitution of the United States was matured.

The Virginia delegation, through Edmund Randolph, then the governor, submitted fifteen resolutions concerning the establishment of a national government, to consist of a legislature of two branches, an executive, and a judiciary. Charles Pinckney also presented a draft of a Federal government. These propositions were referred to the committee of the whole. They were debated from day to day until the 13th of June, when nineteen resolutions were reported to the House. Before they were acted on, Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey (June 15), submitted eleven resolutions, proposing to revise the Articles of Confederation, "so as to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." These resolutions, together with the nineteen resolutions previously reported, were referred to the committee of the whole. In the discussion, after John Dickinson had spoken on the Articles of Confederation, Hamilton, in the course of a speech, read a paper containing his ideas of a Plan of Government, with a legislature of two branches,—the assembly to consist of persons who should serve for three years, and the senate, as well as the governor, the executive head, to serve during good behavior. He proposed that the general government

should appoint the governor of each State, who should have a negative on the laws to be passed by the legislature. This plan was not acted on. On the 19th of June the committee of the whole reported to the House that they did not assent to the resolutions offered by the Hon. Mr. Patterson, but submitted again the nineteen resolutions before reported. The first was, "That it is the opinion of this committee that a National Government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislature, judiciary, and executive."

This determination to frame a new government brought face to face in the Convention the antagonisms of American society: the errors of opinion and rooted prejudices; the local interests, jealousies, and ambitions of the people of the several States. The slavery question rose to fearful eminence. It was connected with the question of representation, or the mode in which the political power should be distributed. Madison, on the 30th of June, in an elaborate speech, delineated the great division of interests in the United States as not being between the large and the small States, but as arising from their having or not having slaves. "It lay," he said, "between the Northern and Southern;" and he went on to show how certain arrangements "would destroy the equilibrium of interests between the two sections." In this he probed the cause of the passion that mingled in the debates. The storm was fearful. "I believe," Luther Martin said, "near a fortnight, perhaps more, was spent in the discussion of this business, during which we were on the verge of dissolution, scarce held together by the strength of a hair;" and this is confirmed by a letter from Washington, who said that he almost despaired of seeing a favorable issue to the proceedings, and therefore repented of having had any agency in the business.

During this period Franklin made his well-known impressive speech on introducing a motion that prayers be said in the Convention. In another characteristic speech, on the wide diversity of opinion, he said that when a broad table is to be made, and the edges of planks do not fit, the artist takes a little from both and makes a good joint. In like manner, here, both sides must part with some of their demands, in order that they may join in some accommodating proposition. The work of healing commenced when the compromise was agreed to, fixing the basis of representation by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to serve for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons, and giving to each State one representative for every forty thousand inhabitants, and to each State an equal vote in the Senate.

After the adjustment of representation, there remained the difficulty of discriminating between the two spheres of power, local and general. The proposal of Hamilton to endow a central government with power to appoint the local governors met with little, if any, favor. The advocates of the old Articles made it their chief point to preserve to the States their importance; and Madison, the foremost advocate of the Virginia plan, said that "he would preserve the State rights as carefully as the trial by jury." The clear and profound George Mason said that, "notwithstanding his solicitude to establish a national government, he never would agree to abolish the State governments, or render them absolutely insignificant. They were as necessary as the general government, and he would be equally careful to preserve them. He was aware of the difficulty of drawing the line between them, but hoped it was not insurmountable." He also said he was sure "that, though the mind of the people might be

unsettled on some points, yet it was settled in attachment to republican government." Local self-government, union, and republicanism were as laws inscribed on the tablets of the American heart; and it was the office of the able men of the Convention to devise for their wants the letter of a written constitution.

In these discussions the Convention had passed on the nineteen resolutions. On the 23d of July it was determined that its proceedings "for the establishment of a national government," excepting the executive, should be referred to a committee, for the purpose of reporting the draft of a constitution conformably to them; and the next day, when five members were reported as this committee, the propositions submitted by Pinckney and Patterson were also referred to it. On the 6th of August the committee reported; when another month of debate followed, during which the clauses relative to the slave-trade and the rendition of slaves were agreed to,—on which hung mighty issues. They are of the past now. They were the price that was paid for republican government, an instrument of vast good in the present and for the future. On the 8th of September a committee of five was appointed "to revise the style of and arrange the articles agreed to by the House." This work was intrusted to Gouverneur Morris, and to him belongs the credit of the simple style and clear arrangement of the Constitution. The committee reported on the twelfth, when the printing of the Constitution was ordered. Three days were occupied in revising it, when it was ordered to be engrossed. It was then read, when Franklin rose with a speech in his hand, which was read by James Wilson.

"I confess," it begins, "that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve; but I am not sure I shall never approve them. For, having

lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions, even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that, the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. . . .

"In these sentiments, sir, I agree to that Constitution, with all its faults, if they are such, because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing to the people if well administered; and believe, further, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall be so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other."

Franklin concluded by moving a form in which the Constitution should be signed by the members.

[At this point Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, proposed to reduce the basis of representation from forty thousand to thirty thousand persons. This was sustained by Washington, in the only speech made by him during the Convention.]

When he rose to put the question on the motion of Mr. Gorham, he said,—

"That although his situation had hitherto restrained him from offering his sentiments on questions depending in the House, and, it might be thought, ought now to impose silence upon him, yet he could not forbear expressing his wish that the alteration proposed might take place. It was much to be desired that the objections to the plan recommended might be made as few as possible. The smallness of the proportion of representatives had been considered, by many members of the Convention, an

insufficient security for the rights and interests of the people. He acknowledged that it had always appeared to himself among the exceptionable parts of the plan; and, late as the present moment was for admitting amendments, he thought this of so much consequence that it would give him much satisfaction to see it adopted."

This impressive appeal was followed by a unanimous vote in favor of the motion. There was then a vote on the question whether the Constitution should be agreed to as engrossed in order to be signed, and all the States answered ay. There was then a debate on signing. Hamilton now entered upon the course that reflects high honor on him as a patriot. He was anxious that every member should sign, saying, "No man's ideas were more remote from the plan than his own were known to be; but is it possible to deliberate between anarchy and convulsion on one side, and the chance of good to be expected from the plan on the other?"

All the members signed the Constitution, excepting Edmund Randolph and George Mason, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts. While the last members were signing, Franklin, the Nestor of the assembly, looking towards the President's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him that painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. "I have," said he, "often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun." The instrument was attested in the form submitted by him: "Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the 17th day of

September, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth."

[It was agreed that the Constitution should be transmitted to the governing body of each State, and when ratified by nine States, Congress should prepare for commencing proceedings under it. It was immediately circulated, and received with favor, and even enthusiasm. The secrecy of the Convention had given rise to unpleasant rumors, which the publication of the instrument set at rest.]

The Constitution was instinctively and joyfully welcomed by farmers, mechanics, and merchants. Soon, however, the newspapers teemed with the views of men eminent for ability, honesty, and patriotism, against its adoption; and they won adherents. Hence the country became divided into two great parties: one, called the Federalists, composed of those who were in favor of the ratification of the Constitution; the other, termed anti-Federalists, or those opposed to the ratification, who could boast among their leaders the great names of George Clinton and Patrick Henry.

The conflict of opinion was carried on in public meetings, through the press, and in the representative assemblies, and all these in thought and action were unfettered. This constituted another great period in American history. It has been thoroughly explored and ably narrated. In advocating the adoption of the Constitution, James Wilson made a noble record in the Pennsylvania Convention and the popular forum, Hamilton and Madison shone in the State conventions and in the press. Their greatest legacy was their share in the "Eighty-five Essays," which appeared in a New York newspaper, under the signature of "Publius." In this they were associated with Jay, who, however, on account of illness, contributed only six of the number. These "Essays" were collected in the

well-known volume entitled "The Federalist," which is a classic in American political literature.

[The Constitution was ratified by conventions in the several States. Its character may be briefly outlined.]

Union was acknowledged as an already existing fact; and the object of the Constitution was declared to be to make a more perfect Union. Government is provided for in a legislature consisting of two branches to make laws, a judiciary to interpret the law, and an executive power in a President, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed." The Senate is based on State equality, the House on numbers. The powers enumerated which a government, under this Constitution, might exercise, were, in general, those which throughout the colonial age were proposed to be vested in a Union,—even the important power of levying taxes and collecting them, while leaving the local governments to levy and collect taxes for local purposes, being in Franklin's Albany plan. They provided for a government to act directly on individuals, instead of a league acting on States, as in the Articles of Confederation; for influence thus substituting public authority. The Union was endowed with political power supreme in its sphere; and though it had no power to make or to abolish the State governments, "yet," is the great comment of Madison, "if they were abolished, the General Government would be compelled, by the principle of self-preservation, to reinstate them in their proper jurisdiction."

The spheres of the two governments, State and National, were defined with much exactness; but, to determine controversies that might arise between the boundaries of their powers, it was provided that the judicial authority should extend to all cases under the Constitution, the laws, and

treaties, naming in the list controversies between two or more States, and that this power should be vested in a Supreme Court, to be established by Congress.

The laws made in pursuance of these powers, and all the treaties, were "to be the supreme law of the land," and the judges in every State were "to be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding;" all officers, "both of the States and of the United States," were to bind themselves, "by oath or affirmation," to support this Constitution; and it was to stand until amended in the form prescribed; the final stage being that new articles should be ratified by three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions of three-fourths of the States, as might be proposed by the Congress; with the proviso that no State, without its consent, should be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

It was provided that the citizens of each State should be entitled to all the rights of citizens in the several States. The word "slave" is not in the Constitution; and so peculiar and wise were the provisions, that, when State after State abolished slavery, no alteration was required to meet the great social change. Nor would any change have been required had all the States abolished slavery. Recent amendments prohibit its establishment, as the original instrument prohibited the States from granting an order of nobility.

Article seventh and last is, "The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same."

On the 2d of July, 1788, the President of Congress informed that body that he had laid before them the ratification of the Constitution by the conventions of nine

States. On that day a committee was appointed to report an act "for putting the said Constitution into operation." It was not, however, until the 13th of September that Congress agreed upon a plan. . . . The first Wednesday in March [1789] was fixed on as the time, and New York as the place, for commencing proceedings under the Constitution.

THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

JOHN C. HAMILTON.

[The first test of the strength of the government founded on the new Constitution was made in Pennsylvania, in 1794, by a rebellion against the payment of the excise tax. But for the energy of the central authorities, this revolt might have risen to dangerous proportions. Seven years before, a revolt in Massachusetts against the payment of State taxes had been suppressed by the local militia. Now the strength of the government of the Union was put to a similar test. The first attempt to collect internal taxes by act of Congress was through a law, passed in 1791, which imposed a tax on distilled spirits. This law at once became unpopular, especially with the Democratic party. The collection of the tax was evaded, and the law was finally openly defied, in western Pennsylvania. A rebellion was inaugurated, which called for the first exercise of Federal authority. A large military force from the neighboring States was called out by the President for its suppression. The story of this earliest rebellion against the authority of the United States is well told in Hamilton's "History of the Republic of the United States of America, as traced in the writings of Alexander Hamilton," from which valuable work we extract a brief account of the event.

Efforts had been made to enforce the law by peaceful means, but these were violently resisted. The houses of collectors of the revenue were broken open by disguised men, and the collectors forced to resign their office. Later the insurgents grew more violent, tarring

and feathering an inspector of the revenue, and finally organized a military association, declaring that they were amenable to State laws only, not to acts of the United States.]

NEW efforts being made to enforce the laws, the marshal of the district was fired upon by a body of armed men. On the following day, the sixteenth of July, an attack by a larger body was made on the house of the inspector-general, Neville, in the vicinity of Pittsburg, who, after having gallantly defended himself, was obliged to retreat. On applying to the magistrates and commanders of the militia, he was informed that, owing to the general combination of the people, the laws could not be executed.

The next day the insurgents reassembled in increased numbers, and renewed their attack upon the house of the inspector, who had called in a detachment from the garrison of Fort Pitt. It consisted of an officer and eleven soldiers. An effectual defence being rendered improbable from the inequality of numbers, the inspector retired. A parley took place under cover of a flag. The insurgents then required the troops to march out and ground their arms,—which being refused, a brisk firing ensued, and was continued until, the building being in flames, the few troops were compelled to surrender. One of the insurgents, formerly an officer of the Pennsylvania line, was killed; several of each party were wounded. The whole property of the inspector was consumed to the ground. The marshal was seized while coming to his aid. They were both ultimately compelled, in order to avoid personal injury, to descend the Ohio and by a circuitous route to proceed to the seat of government. After these excesses a convention of delegates from the insurgents of the four western counties of Pennsylvania and the neighboring counties of Virginia was called for the fourteenth of Au-

gust at Parkinson's Ferry, to concert measures suited to the occasion.

The period had at last certainly arrived when, in the language of the President, "the government could no longer remain a passive spectator of the contempt with which the laws were treated."

[A proclamation was issued by the President, commanding the insurgents to disperse, while quotas of militia were called for from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey. These Governor Mifflin, of Pennsylvania, who seemed to be in sympathy with the insurgents, hesitated to call out. He was, however, forced either to do so, or to break with the central government, and the militia volunteered in greater numbers than were wanted, even members of the "Society of Friends" joining the force. Persons of wealth, and officers high in the old army, were found mustering with the common soldiers in the ranks. General Lee, then Governor of Virginia, was appointed to the chief command. Meanwhile, the insurgents had robbed the mails, and issued circulars citing passages from letters of the inspectors, and declaring that their interests were threatened, and that every citizen must prepare to defend himself.]

They were invoked as "citizens" of the "WESTERN COUNTRY to render their personal services with as many volunteers as they could raise, to rendezvous at Braddock's Field on the Monongahela, with arms and accoutrements in good order." An expedition was proposed, "in which you will have an opportunity of displaying your military talents, and of rendering service to your country."

The immediate object of this expedition was an attack on the garrison at Pittsburg and the seizure of its arms; the ultimate design, the establishment of a tramontane STATE, separate from and independent of the Union. . . .

In order to reach Braddock's Field, the militia of Washington County, warm in the party of the insurgents, were obliged to cross to the east side of the Monongahela. They advanced, clad in their yellow hunting-shirts, their heads

bound with kerchiefs, the dress they wore in their conflicts with the Indians, which kept up, in this hardy frontier population, a temper little less than savage.

Bradford stood on the bank, reviewing these battalions as they crossed. In one circle the party who had burned the inspector's house were seen, each with his rifle, venting their rage against its defenders, deploring the death of their leader, threatening the commandant of Fort Fayette for the aid he had granted. Loud cries were heard of "Tom the Tinker with his bearskin budget."—His "iron was hot, his hammer was up; he would not travel the country for nothing."

Seven thousand men assembled in the course of the day, and encamped for the night. Here there was little sleep, for, though the firing of musketry had ceased, the night was spent by groups, gathered near the range of fires, in earnest discussion and mingled menaces. In the morning, deputies from each regiment were convened in a lone wood. Bradford read the intercepted letters, directing their fury against the authors. The question was put as to their treatment. Some denounced them with death. Others sought to soothe the irritation. Officers were now appointed,—Bradford and Cook, generals. The drums beat, and the line of march to the fort was taken. This small work was a quadrangle with bastions stockaded, and a block-house on two of the angles, each armed with a small piece of artillery. Weak as it was, the commander was Colonel Butler, a resolute soldier. To a demand for its surrender he replied with a determination to hold it at every peril. Meanwhile, to alarm the inhabitants of Pittsburg, a noisy follower rode through the town, with upraised tomahawk, threatening the friends of order. The insurgents paused at the moment of danger; and, after a short parley, the larger number, dissuaded from their purpose,

recrossed the river, leaving a few of the more determined, who, in detached parties, fired, during the night, the habitations of those who had supported the laws.

The flight of the authors of the obnoxious letters and the pretended concurrence of the townsfolk in the objects of the insurgents saved Pittsburg from destruction.

[The excitement increased, and another meeting took place on August 14. A liberty-pole was erected, bearing a red flag, with six stripes, one for each insurgent county, and the inscription, "Liberty and no Excise! No Asylum for Traitors and Cowards." Albert Gallatin (the afterwards prominent statesman) was secretary of this convention. Violent discussions ensued, with a strong sentiment in favor of war. Word now came that the commissioners of the government were at hand. This produced an instant change in the courage of the assembly. More moderate resolutions were moved, and there were evidences of a disposition to accept the proffered terms,—a submission to the laws, with the promise that measures would be taken to ascertain the sense of the people.]

Bradford would have rejected instantly the proffered terms. The angered, earnest, misled population, still believing, as they had been taught by their leaders, that the excise laws were unconstitutional and oppressive, were ready to sustain him. The only resource was to postpone the question for the night, and to induce the armed party to withdraw.

The next day, relieved from the immediate presence of his followers, and trembling before the insulted majesty of the government, Gallatin urged submission. Bradford, of too proud and firm a temper to truckle at the first alarm of danger, opposed conciliation. He declared the people only wanted fire-arms. With these they could obtain a victory over the militia army. Then they could establish an independent State. The Committee of Sixty were divided in opinion. Shrinking from the responsibility of

an open vote, it was proposed by Gallatin, and sustained by those in favor of submission, that it should be by secret ballot. The ballot was taken, and, as was after ascertained, thirty-four were in favor of terms, twenty-three against them.

[The sentiment shown by this vote was not generally shared by the people. In various sections violent measures were proposed, and the insurgent spirit seemed so strong as to render it evident that no alternative remained but the advance of the armed force. This Washington had decided to accompany.]

The adjacent States now presented an animating scene. On every side volunteers were offering, and, led by officers of the army of the Revolution, pressed to the service. The militia of Maryland and Virginia, in which States attempts were made to prevent the drafts, repaired to Cumberland. . . . Those of New Jersey under Governor Howel, and of Pennsylvania under Mifflin, were to be concentrated at Carlisle.

[Gallatin and others of the moderate leaders of the populace now declared their submission to the authorities, and passed pacific resolutions.]

Washington, meanwhile, had reached Carlisle. Here a large encampment had been formed. Tents were pitched at the base of the hills; and from the centre of a vast amphitheatre the President addressed the gathered multitude. Loud greetings followed, and at night an illumination blazed through the town. At this place, so changed in the direction of its feelings, Findley and Reddick [two of the submissive insurgent leaders] now arrived. Fearing for their personal safety from the resentment of the troops, they spent the night three miles beyond the town, "passing for travellers going to Philadelphia." At sunrise they waited on the President. Overawed by his cold, calm, majestic bearing, they presented the submissive resolutions,

and withdrew. A hearing was given to them. Earnestly they sought to convince him of the restored quiet of the scene of disaffection, and to dissuade the onward movement of the troops.

[In this object they failed. The army was ordered to continue its advance. "Leaders taken in arms were to be delivered up to the civil magistrates, the rest disarmed, admonished, and sent home." Washington now returned to Philadelphia, leaving the control of the expedition in the hands of Hamilton and the immediate command to Governor Lee.]

The Alleghanies were now to be ascended. On the twenty-first of October the two light corps marched in advance. The body of the army moved the next day, the right wing under Mifflin, the left under Lee, the artillery, as a park, in the centre, where the cavalry, "who, though dangerous in the light, are impotent in darkness," were stationed at night. On the march, chosen parties of horse were ordered to follow in the rear of each wing, to arrest stragglers and to protect the property of individuals. The orders for each day's march were prepared by Hamilton. Owing to recent heavy rains, the progress of the army had become "extremely arduous and distressing." Mountain after mountain of stupendous size rose before their anxious view, as beyond and all around them they beheld giddy precipices, overhanging cliffs, deep glades, far-extending valleys, and headlong torrents contending for an outlet among the craggy, age-mossed rocks,—the whole exhibiting the appearance of a vast magnificent ruin of years long gone by.

For many a mile not a dwelling was to be seen, nor a sound to be heard, save the echo of the felling axe, or the cry of the startled wood-birds before the tramp of the advancing troops, awed into silence by the dreary solitudes, —a silence only broken by the sudden cries of returning

scouts from amid the rude sequestered wilds, through whose forest depths the autumn sun scarce pierced its rare and broken rays.

To guard against surprise among these passes, and to protect the country beyond them from devastation by these undisciplined levies, was a service of no less difficulty than to restrain mutiny prompted by unexpected hardships. Hamilton was ever on the alert. While the bright gleams of early soldiership lightened his countenance, nothing escaped the vigilance of his eye. Holding no military rank, he was seen day after day mingling with the men, studying their tempers, rallying their spirits, relating stirring incidents of the Revolutionary War, while in the heavy hours of the night he traversed the camp, unattended, watching the sentries on their tedious rounds. On one occasion he found a wealthy youth of Philadelphia sitting on his outer post, his musket by his side. Approaching, he reproved him. The youth complained of hardship. Hamilton shouldered the musket, and, pacing to and fro, remained on guard until relieved. The incident was rumored throughout the camp, nor did the lesson require repetition.

The assemblage of any combined force of the insurgents was deterred by various detachments, who seized the leaders and brought in numerous prisoners.

[These decided measures put a stop to the insurrection. The insurgents, left without leaders, and deterred by the presence of an army of fifteen thousand men, feared to gather in force; though there were sufficient evidences of a spirit of resistance to the laws to require the presence of a military force till the district should become pacified.]

Hamilton arrived at Pittsburg with the judiciary corps on the seventeenth of November, having left the army the preceding day.

During the latter part of the march he had been constantly engaged, obtaining intelligence of the insurgents, receiving the submissions of those who had not fled, restraining the resentments of the militia which these treasons had excited, and establishing the laws in a region which now first practically acknowledged the supremacy of the general government. . . .

Nothing could have been more gratifying than the result of this expedition,—a great body of misguided rebels restored without bloodshed to the dominion of the laws, a contemplated severance of the Union defeated, and a strong impression made, that in the affections of the people the government possessed a safe reliance adequate to its support.

[Thus ended, without bloodshed, an insurrection which at one time threatened to disrupt the new-formed Union, or to require severe measures for its suppression. Brackenridge remarks, "It has been said that because there was no horrid battle there was no necessity for so strong an army. But it was the display of so strong an army that rendered unnecessary anything but the display of it." The event has an importance as the first organized resistance to the authority of the United States government, and the first occasion in which an American President exerted his authority by directly calling out the militia of the States to the support of the laws of the general government.]

THE PIONEER OF KENTUCKY.

JOHN S. C. ABBOTT.

[While the events of the Revolutionary War and of the succeeding period were taking place on the seaboard of America, the interior was the seat of interesting incidents of which some description is desirable. The colonists of America had dispossessed the original tenants of the soil from the Atlantic region, or reduced them to a state of hope-

less submission, with the exception of the Iroquois tribes of New York, who were too warlike and well organized to be easily overcome. But in the interior, beyond the mountain-barrier of the Alleghanies, the savages were yet numerous and their spirit unbroken. The Cherokees had become peaceful, but the Northern tribes were vigorous and warlike, and viewed with jealous hostility the spread of pioneer invasion into their territory. This feeling was encouraged by the art of British emissaries, who, during the war, roused the savages to acts of horrible cruelty and devastation.

The first movements of the whites westward had been made by way of the great lakes and the Mississippi, along which the French had early established trading-stations. The next movement of the French was southward from the lakes to the Ohio, while at the same time the English were pushing westward through Pennsylvania to the same region. The conflicts arising from this, with the final triumph of the English, we have considered. But the victors had another foe to deal with, in the savages of the Ohio territory, and not till they had defeated Pontiac and his warriors, and broken the spirit of the hostile tribes, were they secure in their possession of the vast and fertile region which they had thus appropriated.

There is another movement of emigration now to consider, which opened a new and extensive territory to European settlers, and gave rise to historical events of interest and importance. In a preceding article it was remarked that the news of the battle of Lexington reached the ears of a party of hunters in the interior of Kentucky, and that they gave the name of Lexington to the locality of their camp. The movement in this direction was instigated and led by the celebrated pioneer and hunter Daniel Boone, whose adventurous life has so long been a source of interest and enjoyment to readers. The story of the discovery, conquest, and settlement of Kentucky belongs to the era of the Revolutionary War, and had reached its most interesting phase at the period when the seaboard colonists were first taking arms against British aggression. Its consequences, however, reached far into the succeeding period, and a description of it is properly in place here.

Kentucky was first discovered in 1767, by a bold hunter named John Finley, who, with some companions, in that year crossed the Alleghanies and entered this unknown land. It was no easy enterprise. There was a mountain-region nearly fifty miles in width to cross, traversed by parallel ridges, all rugged, and some almost impassable. Yet

the beautiful and fertile expanse which they beheld from the western slope repaid the hardy pioneers for their toil, and for months they wandered in this new Eden, which was full of game, and pleasantly salubrious in its climate, while unclaimed by those savage tenants whose presence filled with peril all other regions of the country. No Indians possessed the country. It was the hunting and battle region of Northern, Western, and Southern tribes, who frequently crossed its soil, yet never made it their home. Yet here desperate battles frequently took place, and the name of "the dark and bloody ground," which it subsequently received, was always appropriate.

The story told by Finley on his return was eagerly heard by Daniel Boone, a noted hunter of North Carolina, whither his parents had emigrated from Pennsylvania. In 1769 a party under the leadership of Boone crossed the mountains, and entered Kentucky by way of Cumberland Gap. His adventures in this region for several years succeeding were numerous and exciting. He acquired the reputation of a mighty hunter, became dreaded by the Indians, and, though on several occasions taken prisoner, always managed to escape from their hands. During this interval the Indian war known as Lord Dunmore's War broke out, through the assassination, by white fiends, of the family of the renowned Indian chief Logan. The borders of the Virginia frontier were terribly raided, and it needed an army of three thousand men to subdue the savages. In the final battle, which was desperately contested, two hundred and fifteen Virginians and several hundred Indian warriors were killed and wounded. The repulsed tribes fled in terror, and their whole country was devastated by the victors.

In this campaign Boone took part, and its conclusion was followed by a more rapid inflow of settlers into the region which he had explored, and which had become now more safe for white emigrants. Under his directions a strong fort was built at Boonsborough, on the left bank of the Kentucky River. To this frontier post came a party of adventurous settlers, under his leadership. It was a dangerous location. Lurking Indians waited to cut off any settler who ventured too far beyond the walls of the fort. At one time a daughter of Boone and two other girls, while canoeing on the river, were captured by savages. Boone rapidly pursued, and succeeded in surprising the captors and rescuing their prisoners. The story of the adventures of these pioneers is full of thrilling incidents, and their life was one of hair-breadth escapes. Finally Boone was taken prisoner, while out with a

party making salt at the Salt Lick springs. As the Indians were not resisted, the captives were well treated, taken to Detroit, and all ransomed except Boone, whom they would not surrender. They took him back with them to Chillicothe, the home of the tribe, and adopted him into the family of Blackfish, a distinguished Shawnee chief. The ceremony of adoption was a severe and painful one, as part of it consisted in the plucking out of all the hairs of the head, with the exception of the scalp-lock tuft, of three or four inches' diameter. Yet the shrewd and politic captive bore all these inflictions with equanimity, and managed to appear perfectly content with his lot. The exciting events which succeeded we give from Abbott's "Daniel Boone, the Pioneer of Kentucky."]

Colonel Boone, having passed through this transformation, with his Indian dress and his painted cheeks, his tufted scalp-lock and his whole person embrowned by constant exposure to the open air, could scarcely be distinguished from any of his Indian associates. His wary captors, however, . . . habitually, but without a remark suggestive of any suspicions, adopted precautions to prevent his escape. So skilful a hunter as Boone could, with his rifle and a supply of ammunition, traverse the solitary expanse around for almost any length of time, living in abundance. But deprived of his rifle or of ammunition he would soon almost inevitably perish of starvation. The Indians were therefore very careful not to allow him to accumulate any ammunition, which was so essential to sustain him in a journey through the wilderness.

Though Boone was often allowed to go out alone to hunt, they always counted his balls and the charges of powder. Thus they could judge whether he had concealed any ammunition to aid him, should he attempt to escape. He, however, with equal sagacity, cut the balls in halves, and used very small charges of powder. Thus he secretly laid aside quite a little store of ammunition.

[During this period the Indians took Boone with them to some salt

springs to aid them in making salt. Here they kept him too busy at the kettles to give him an opportunity to escape.]

After an absence of about a fortnight, they returned with a good supply of salt to the Little Miami. Here Boone was quite alarmed to find that during his absence the chiefs had been marshalling a band of four hundred and fifty of their bravest warriors to attack Boonsborough. In that fort were his wife and children. Its capture would probably insure their slaughter. He was aware that the fort was not sufficiently guarded by its present inmates, and that, unapprehensive of impending danger, they were liable to be taken entirely by surprise. Boone was sufficiently acquainted with the Shawanese dialect to understand every word they said, while he very sagaciously had assumed, from the moment of his captivity, that he was entirely ignorant of their language.

Boone's anxiety was very great. He was compelled to assume a smiling face as he attended their war-dances. Apparently unmoved, he listened to the details of their plans for the surprise of the fort. Indeed, to disarm suspicion and to convince them that he had truly become one of their number, he co-operated in giving efficiency to their hostile designs against all he held most dear in the world.

It had now become a matter of infinite moment that he should immediately escape and carry to his friends in the fort the tidings of their peril. But the slightest unwary movement would have led the suspicious Indians so to redouble their vigilance as to render escape utterly impossible. So skilfully did he conceal the emotions which agitated him, and so successfully did he feign entire contentment with his lot, that his captors, all absorbed in the enterprise in which they were engaged, remitted their ordinary vigilance.

On the morning of the sixteenth of June [1777] Boone rose very early to take his usual hunt. With his secreted ammunition, and the amount allowed him by the Indians for the day, he hoped to be able to save himself from starvation during his flight of five days through the pathless wilderness. There was a distance of one hundred and sixty miles between Old Chillicothe and Boonsborough. The moment his flight should be suspected, four hundred and fifty Indian warriors, breathing vengeance, and in perfect preparation for the pursuit, would be on his track. His capture would almost certainly result in his death by the most cruel tortures; for the infuriated Indians would wreak upon him all their vengeance.

It is, however, not probable that this silent, pensive man allowed these thoughts seriously to disturb his equanimity. An instinctive trust in God seemed to inspire him. He was forty-three years of age. In the knowledge of woodcraft, and in powers of endurance, no Indian surpassed him. Though he would be pursued by sagacious and veteran warriors and by young Indian braves, a pack of four hundred and fifty savages following, with keener scent than that of the bloodhound, one poor victim, yet undismayed he entered upon the appalling enterprise. The history of the world perhaps presents but few feats so difficult and yet so successfully performed. . . .

It was necessary, as soon as Boone got out of sight of the village, to fly with the utmost speed, to put as great a distance as possible between himself and his pursuers before they should suspect his attempt at escape. He subsequently learned that as soon as the Indians apprehended that he had actually fled, there was the most intense commotion in their camp, and immediately a large number of their fleetest runners and keenest hunters were put upon his trail. He dared not fire a gun. Had he killed any

game he could not have ventured to kindle a fire to cook it. He had secretly provided himself with a few cuts of dried venison with which he could appease his hunger as he pressed forward by day and by night, scarcely allowing himself one moment for rest or sleep. His route lay through forests and swamps, and across many streams swollen by recent rains.

At length he reached the Ohio River. Its current was swift and turbid, rolling in a majestic flood half a mile in width, filling the bed of the stream with almost fathomless waters from shore to shore. Experienced as Colonel Boone was in wood-craft, he was not a skilful swimmer. The thought of how he should cross the Ohio had caused him much anxiety. Upon reaching its banks he fortunately—may we not say providentially?—found an old canoe which had drifted among the bushes upon the shore. There was a large hole at one end, and it was nearly filled with water. He succeeded in baling out the water and plugging up the hole, and crossed the river in safety. Then for the first time he so far indulged in a feeling of security as to venture to shoot a turkey, and, kindling a fire, he feasted abundantly upon the rich repast. It was the only meal in which he had indulged during his flight of five days.

[On reaching the fort they looked upon him as a dead man come to life. His wife and children, believing him dead, had returned to North Carolina. He found the fort in a bad condition, and at once brought all his energy and experience to work to put it in a proper state of defence. This done, he determined to strike terror into his Indian foes, and on the 1st of August led a party of nineteen men across the Ohio. They met and routed a body of thirty savages near the Indian town of Paint Creek.]

Boone sent forward some swift runners as spies, and they speedily returned with the report that the Indians in a panic had entirely abandoned Paint Creek. Aware that

the warriors would rush to join the four hundred and fifty from Old Chillicothe, and that they might cut off his retreat, or reach Boonsborough before his return, he immediately commenced a rapid movement back to the fort. Every man would be needed there for an obstinate defence. This foray had extended one hundred and fifty miles from the fort. It greatly alarmed the Indians. It emboldened the hearts of the garrison, and gave them intelligence of the approach of their foes. After an absence of but seven days, Boone with his heroic little band quite triumphantly re-entered the fort.

[The Indian army, four hundred and forty-four in number, arrived on August 8, commanded by Captain Duquesne, eleven other Frenchmen, and some of their own chiefs, with British and French colors flying. The fort was summoned to surrender in the name of his Britannic majesty. Boone asked and was granted two days to consider. He employed the interval to prepare for an obstinate defence. He then returned the answer that "we are determined to defend our fort while a man is living."]

There were but fifty men in the garrison at Boonsborough. They were assailed by a body of more than ten to one of the bravest Indian warriors, under the command of an officer in the British army. The boldest in the fort felt that their situation was almost desperate. The ferocity of the Indian and the intelligence of the white man were combined against them. They knew that the British commander, however humane he might be, would have no power, should the fort be taken by storm, to save them from death by the most horrible tortures.

[It was now declared by Duquesne that his orders were to take them captive and not destroy them, and if nine of them would come out and treat with him he would withdraw his forces and peacefully retire. Boone accepted this proposition.]

But, better acquainted with the Indian character than

perhaps Duquesne could have been, he selected nine of the most athletic and strong of the garrison, and appointed the place of meeting in front of the fort, at a distance of only one hundred and twenty feet from the walls. The riflemen of the garrison were placed in a position to cover the spot with their guns, so that in case of treachery the Indians would meet with instant punishment, and the retreat of the party from the fort would probably be secured.

[Duquesne proposed highly liberal terms. But Boone well knew that the Indians would not assent to these terms. During the conference the savages had drawn near, and now Blackfish, Boone's adopted father, professed entire amity, and proposed that they should conclude the treaty in what he asserted was the Indian manner, by each white man shaking hands with two Indians.]

This shallow pretence, scarcely up to the sagacity of children, by which Blackfish hoped that two savages grappling each one of the commissioners would easily be able to make prisoners of them, and then by threats of torture compel the surrender of the fort, did not in the slightest degree deceive Colonel Boone. He was well aware of his own strength and of that of the men who accompanied him. He also knew that his riflemen occupied concealed positions, from which, with unerring aim, they could instantly punish the savages for any act of treachery. He therefore consented to the arrangement. The grasp was given. Instantly a terrible scene of confusion ensued.

The burly savages tried to drag off their victims. The surrounding Indians rushed in to their aid, and a deadly fire was opened upon them from the fort, which was energetically responded to by all the armed savages from behind stumps and trees. One of the fiercest of battles had instantly blazed forth. Still these stalwart pioneers were not taken by surprise. Aided by the bullets of the fort,

they shook off their assailants, and all succeeded in escaping within the heavy gates, which were immediately closed behind them. One only of their number, Boone's brother, was wounded. This escape seems almost miraculous. But the majority of the Indians in intelligence were mere children; sometimes very cunning, but often with the grossest stupidity mingled with their strategy.

Duquesne and Blackfish, the associated leaders, now commenced the siege of the fort with all their energies. Dividing their forces into two parties, they kept up an incessant fire upon the garrison for nine days and nine nights. It was one of the most heroic of those bloody struggles between civilization and barbarism which have rendered the plains of Kentucky memorable.

The savages were very careful not to expose themselves to the rifles of the besieged. They were stationed behind rocks and trees and stumps, so that it was seldom that the garrison could catch even a glimpse of the foes who were assailing them. It was necessary for those within the fort to be sparing of their ammunition. They seldom fired unless they could take deliberate aim, and then the bullet was almost always sure to reach its mark. Colonel Boone, in describing this attempt of the Indians to capture the commissioners by stratagem, and the storm of war which followed, writes:

"They immediately grappled us, but, although surrounded by hundreds of savages, we extricated ourselves from them and escaped all safe into the garrison except one, who was wounded, through a heavy fire from their army. They immediately attacked us on every side, and a constant heavy fire ensued between us, day and night, for the space of nine days. In this time the enemy began to undermine our fort, which was situated about sixty yards from the Kentucky River. They began at the

water-mark and proceeded in the bank some distance, which we understood by their making the water muddy with the clay. We immediately proceeded to disappoint their design by cutting a trench across their subterranean passage. The enemy, discovering our countermine by the clay we threw out of the fort, desisted from that stratagem. Experience now fully convincing them that neither their power nor their policy could effect their purpose, on the twentieth of August they raised the siege and departed.

"During this siege, which threatened death in every form, we had two men killed and four wounded, besides a number of cattle. We killed of the enemy thirty-seven, and wounded a great number. After they were gone we picked up one hundred and twenty-five pounds' weight of bullets, besides what stuck in the logs of our fort, which certainly is a great proof of their industry."

It is said that during this siege one of the negroes, probably a slave, deserted from the fort with one of their best rifles, and joined the Indians. Concealing himself in a tree, where unseen he could take deliberate aim, he became one of the most successful of the assailants. But the eagle eye of Boone detected him, and though, as was afterwards ascertained by actual measurement, the tree was five hundred and twenty-five feet distant from the fort, Boone took deliberate aim, fired, and the man was seen to drop heavily from his covert to the ground. The bullet from Boone's rifle had pierced his brain.

At one time the Indians had succeeded in setting fire to the fort, by throwing flaming combustibles upon it, attached to their arrows. One of the young men extinguished the flames, exposing himself to the concentrated and deadly fire of the assailants in doing so. Though the bullets fell like hailstones around him, the brave fellow escaped unscathed.

[The Indians never again assailed the fort. From that time forward the settlements in Kentucky rapidly increased, the Revolutionary War driving many settlers West. There were other troubles with the savages, but the dominion of the white man in the trans-Alleghany region was assured, and the aborigines had lost their hold upon the land of their forefathers.]

WAR WITH THE WESTERN INDIANS.

JAMES STEWARD.

[The settlement of the valley of the Ohio, and of the adjacent regions north and south, steadily continued in the period succeeding the Revolution, the hardy frontiersmen pushing back the aborigines step by step, and daring all the terrors of savage reprisal in their unflinching advance. The assault on the fort at Boonsborough was succeeded by other actions, in several of which the Indians were victorious. On August 18, 1782, the whites suffered a bloody repulse at a point on the Licking River near the Blue Licks. Boone took part in this battle. Soon after, General Clark defeated the victorious savages, and burned their towns. From this time till 1790 the Indians continued hostile, and committed such ravages that General Harmer was sent, in the latter year, to punish them. The result was disastrous. Two actions took place, in both of which he was defeated, with severe loss in killed and wounded. Of the succeeding events we select a description from Steward's "History of America," more generally known, from an edition of it having been published by Henry Trumbull, as Trumbull's "History of the Indian Wars."]

In the fall of 1791, General St. Clair took command of the Western army, and marched against the Indians, who had assembled in great force on the Miami River. He met with a total defeat. The particulars of the fight, which was very sanguinary, will be given in his own words, which is taken from his letter to the Secretary of War:

"Yesterday, the remains of the army under my command got back to this place [Fort Washington]; and I

have now the painful task to give an account of as warm and as unfortunate an action as almost any that has been fought, as every corps was engaged and worsted, except the First Regiment; this had been detached upon a service that I had the honor to inform you of in my last despatch, and had not joined me.

"On the 3d instant, the army had reached a creek about twelve yards wide, running to the southward of west, which I believed to have been the river St. Mary, that empties into the Miami of the lake; arrived at the village about four o'clock in the afternoon, having marched near nine miles, and were immediately encamped upon a very commanding piece of ground, in two lines, having the above-mentioned creek in front. The right wing, composed of Butler, Clark, and Patterson's battalions, commanded by Major-General Butler, formed the first line; and the left wing, consisting of Bedinger and Gaither's battalions, and the Second Regiment, commanded by Colonel Drake, formed the second line; with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow.

"The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek, a steep bank, and Faulkener's corps. Some of the cavalry, and their pickets, covered the left flank. The militia were sent over the creek, and advanced about a quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order.

"There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation on the advance of the militia. At this place, which I judged to be about fifteen miles from the Miami village, I had determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and everything else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have

moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the First Regiment came up; but they did not permit me to execute either, for on the 4th, about half an hour before sunrise, and when the men had just been dismissed from parade (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before daylight), an attack was made upon the militia, who gave way in a very little time, and rushed into camp through Major Butler's battalion, which, together with part of Clark's, they threw into considerable disorder, and which, notwithstanding the exertions of both these officers, was never altogether remedied. The Indians followed close at their heels; the fire, however, of the front line checked them, but almost instantaneously a very heavy attack began upon that line, and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise. The great weight of it was directed against the centre of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from the fire, and a confusion beginning to spread from the great number of the men who were falling in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done with the bayonet.

"Lieutenant Drake was accordingly ordered to charge with a part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit, and at first promised much success. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards; but, for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pursued the troops that were posted there.

"Another charge was made here by the Second Regiment, Butler and Clark's battalions, with equal effect, and

it was repeated several times, and always with success; but in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, among raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of, made by the Second Regiment and Butler's battalion, Major Butler was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the Second Regiment fell, except three, one of which, Captain Grea-ton, was shot through the body. Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed, except Captain Ford, who was badly wounded, more than half of the army fallen, being cut off from the road, it became necessary to attempt the regaining it and to make a retreat if possible. To this purpose the remains of the army was formed, as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment, from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with the design to turn the right flank, but it was in fact gain the road. This was effected, and as soon as it was opened the militia entered it, followed by the troops, Major Clark with his battalion covering the rear.

"The retreat in these circumstances was, as you may be sure, a precipitate one. It was, in fact, a flight. The camp and artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable, as not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased.

"I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it, for, having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself; and the orders I sent forward, either to halt the front or

prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to.

"The rout continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sunset. The action began half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat was attempted at half-past nine o'clock." . . .

The defeat of General St. Clair took place within three miles of the Miami village. The loss on this occasion was about six hundred killed and wounded (said to be nearly equal to Braddock's defeat), with seven pieces of artillery and all the stores. General St. Clair had about eleven hundred men, had reason to expect an attack, and kept his men under arms all night, drawn up in a square. The attack commenced about dawn of day on all the lines, but principally on the rear line, which was composed of the militia. The Indians gave one fire and rushed on, tomahawk in hand. The militia gave way to the centre, and before the artillery could be brought into action the matrosses were all killed, and it fell into the hands of the enemy. It was retaken, but was useless for want of men to manage the pieces. The action was continued obstinately until nine o'clock, when the troops gave way. St. Clair rallied his men, and brought them off in tolerable order, with most of the wounded, to Fort Jefferson, thirty miles in the rear of the action. The enemy pursued five miles.

Few officers of distinction escaped, except General St. Clair, who had many narrow escapes. Eight balls passed through his clothes. The attack was conducted with astonishing intrepidity on the part of the Indians. In a few moments the general's tent was surrounded. However, he was rescued by a party of regular soldiers, who repelled the enemy with fixed bayonets. . . .

[The Indians in this disastrous affair claim to have been four

thousand strong, and to have lost but fifty-six warriors killed. They took no prisoners, but treated the wounded on the field with great inhumanity.]

A few weeks after the defeat of the troops under General St. Clair, General Scott despatched from the men under his command two spies to reconnoitre the enemy, who, when they arrived at the distance of a few miles from the fatal spot where the bloody action was fought, discovered a large party of Indians, diverting and enjoying themselves with the plunder they had taken, riding the bullocks, etc., and appeared to be mostly drunk. The men returned and communicated this most important information to General Scott, who immediately divided his troops into three divisions and advanced on the enemy by surprise. The contest was short, but victorious on the part of the American troops. Two hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot, all the cannon and stores in their possession retaken, and the remainder of the savage body put to flight. General Scott, losing but six men, returned to head-quarters in triumph, with most of the cattle, stores, etc.

General Scott gave the following affecting account of the appearance of the field on which the bloody action between the American troops under General St. Clair and the savages was fought: "The place had a very melancholy appearance. Nearly in the space of three hundred and fifty yards lay three hundred skull-bones, which were buried by my men while on the ground; from thence, about five miles on, the road through the woods was strewn with skeletons, muskets, etc."

[Their great success in the action described roused the Indians to continued acts of outrage and massacre, and in time they grew so bold and daring as to render all the frontier settlements insecure. It became necessary either to abandon the region or to subdue the savages.

The government, three years after the defeat of St. Clair, took measures to effect the latter purpose.]

After the defeat of two armies, and the great suffering of the inhabitants, by the Indians, as related in the preceding chapter, our government came to the determination to adopt more effective measures for the protection of the Western frontiers. General Anthony Wayne was appointed to the command of the forces raised for that purpose, and ordered to proceed against the hostile Indians, who had assembled in great force on the river Miamis. He gained a decisive victory over them, which put an end to their depredations for several years. The particulars of the battle are related in the following official despatch from him to the Secretary of War :

"It is with infinite pleasure that I announce to you the brilliant success of the Federal army under my command, in a general action with the combined force of the hostile Indians and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit, on the 20th of August, 1794, on the banks of the Miamis, in the vicinity of the British post and garrison at the foot of the rapids.

"The army advanced to Roach de Bout on the 15th, and on the 19th we were employed in making a temporary post for the reception of our stores and baggage, and in reconnoitring the position of the enemy, who were encamped behind a thick bushy wood and the British fort.

"At eight o'clock on the morning of the 20th the army again advanced in columns, agreeably to the standing order of the march : the legion on the right, its right flank covered by the Miamis ; one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier-General Todd, and the other in the rear, under Brigadier-General Barbee. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to

keep sufficiently advanced, and to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

"After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat.

"The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close, thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance to support the first, and directed Major-General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route. At the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their covert at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again or to form their lines. I also ordered Captain M. Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry that the

Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time that, although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Wood, and Barbee of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action, the enemy being driven in the course of one hour more than two miles through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their number.

“From every account, the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison. . . .

“The loss of the enemy was more than double that of the Federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with dead bodies of Indians and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets. We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miamis in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance above and below the garrison, among which were the houses, stores, and property of Colonel M’Kee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

“The army returned to head-quarters on the 27th, by easy marches, laying waste the villages and cornfields for about fifty miles on each side of the Miamis. It is not improbable that the enemy may make one desperate action

against the army, as it is said a reinforcement was hourly expected at Fort Miamis from Niagara, as well as numerous tribes of Indians living on the margins and islands of the lakes. This is an event rather to be wished for than dreaded whilst the army remains in force; their numbers will only tend to confuse the savages, and the victory will be the more complete and decisive, and which may eventually insure a permanent and happy peace. Total killed, thirty-eight; wounded, one hundred and one.

[Wayne's victory effectually quieted the Indians of that region. Sixteen years elapsed before another outbreak took place, that of the Indians of the Wabash, under the leadership of the celebrated Tecumseh. This was effectually silenced by the defeat of the savages by the army under General Harrison, at the battle of Tippecanoe, on November 6, 1811, in which the Indians were routed with great slaughter. The Indian leader, however, was not present at this battle, and survived to give trouble to the Americans in the war which soon after broke out with Great Britain.]

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA.

JOHN BACH McMASTER.

[Before considering the subject indicated in the title of this article, a brief review of the political events which followed the adoption of the Constitution is advisable. The reign of party spirit in the United States began with the adoption of this instrument by the Convention. Between this date and that of its ratification by the States the Federal and Anti-Federal parties struggled for supremacy, the former being in favor of a strong central government, the latter favoring the practical independence of the States. The ratification of the Constitution by the States ended this contest. The prominent Anti-Federalists announced their intention of supporting the Constitution, and for several years there was practically but one party in the country. George

Washington was the first President elected, the electoral vote in his favor being unanimous. John Adams was chosen for Vice-President. Until about 1824-28, electors were generally chosen by the State legislatures, not by the direct vote of the people, as since that period. The two persons receiving the highest electoral vote became respectively President and Vice-President.

Opposition to the Federal party began in 1790, when Hamilton broached a project for the assumption of State debts by the central government. It grew stronger in 1791, when he proposed to establish a national bank. Jefferson, who had been the first Secretary of State, was now found at the head of a party in open opposition to the administration. This party, though adopting the name of Republicans, advocated the principles of the older Anti-Federalists, claiming that there was a scheme to subvert the State governments and establish a strong central government, and denouncing the Hamilton party as monarchists. Democratic clubs soon after arose, instigated by, and imitating many of the follies of, the Jacobin revolutionists of France. They had the one good effect of introducing political discussion among the masses of the people, and in a few years the Democrats coalesced with the Republicans as a single national party. The Federalists, however, continued in the majority, and in 1792 Washington and Adams were again elected President and Vice-President.

During this second term the power of the Republican party rapidly increased. The acts of the administration were fiercely attacked, and when, at the approach of a new election, Washington announced his intention to retire, a hot political contest arose, which nearly resulted in a Republican victory. Of the electoral votes Adams received seventy-one, and Jefferson sixty-eight, the latter receiving all but two of the Southern votes. The new administration was therefore organized with Adams for President and Jefferson for Vice-President.

The financial condition of the country had now greatly improved. A sound credit was established, funds were provided for the payment of the national debt, and treaties were concluded with the Indians and with several of the European powers, while a very rapid increase in population and in agricultural and commercial wealth had taken place. During the summer of 1800 the seat of government was removed from Philadelphia to Washington, as at that time the centre of the country. The Republican party continued to develop in strength, mainly on account of the passage of laws which tended to strengthen the central government, and which were unfavorably received by the people.

The "Alien Law," which empowered the President to order from the country any foreigner whose presence he deemed dangerous to the public safety, and the "Sedition Law," which visited with fine and imprisonment "any false, scandalous, or malicious writing against the government of the United States, or either House of Congress, or the President," were deemed tyrannical measures; while the effort to pass an act establishing a standing army added to the unpopularity of the Federalists. In the election of 1800, therefore, the Republicans were victorious. Jefferson became President, and Aaron Burr, who had prominent control of the Democratic party, was made Vice-President. Jefferson and Burr, indeed, received an equal number of votes, and Congress had to decide between them. With this election the power of the Federal party ceased, and for many years thereafter the "State Rights" Democratic-Republican party continued in the supremacy. The effort to strengthen the central government unduly at the expense of the power of the States had failed, and the Federalists, as a distinct party, gradually vanished from existence.

With the accession of this new party to power the principal governmental offices were placed in the hands of the Republicans, the system of internal duties was abolished, and several unpopular laws were repealed. In 1802 Ohio was admitted as a State, and in the succeeding year the Territory of Louisiana was purchased from France. This important purchase added so enormously to the domain of the United States as to demand here a more extended notice.

The United States was at that period surrounded by alien territory. On the north, Canada remained in the hands of the English. On the south, Florida, which had been ceded to England in 1763, captured in part by the Spanish allies of the United States in 1781, and re-ceded to Spain in 1783, bounded the States from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Louisiana, embracing the whole Mississippi Valley, and extending indefinitely westward, remained French territory after the close of the French and Indian War. In 1762 it was secretly transferred to Spain, though open possession was not given till 1769. Meanwhile, in 1763, Great Britain obtained by treaty that portion lying east of the Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville. In 1783 this territory was ceded to the United States by the treaty of peace with England. All the territory west of the Mississippi, and on the east from the 31st parallel of latitude to the Gulf, remained in the hands of Spain.

No sooner had American settlements extended to the region of the

Mississippi and its eastern affluents than the importance of having free use of this river as a channel of transportation to the sea was strongly felt. This sentiment intensified as the settlements increased and the Spanish authorities manifested a hostile policy. That a foreign power should restrict the use of the mouth of such a river as the Mississippi was intolerable, and had it not been ceded peacefully it must eventually have been taken by force. From McMaster's admirable "*History of the People of the United States*" we select an account of the acquisition of this vast and valuable territory.]

ON October first, 1800, by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain gave back to France that province of Louisiana which, in 1762, France had given to her. It was long before the existence of this treaty was known; but the moment it was known Jefferson saw most clearly that trouble with France was not at an end. There was, he said, one spot on the face of the earth so important to the United States that whoever held it was, for that very reason, naturally and forever our enemy; and that spot was New Orleans. He could not, therefore, see it transferred to France but with deep regret. The day she took possession of the city the ancient friendship between her and the United States ended; alliance with Great Britain became necessary, and the sentence that was to keep France below low-water mark became fixed. This day seemed near at hand, for in November, 1802, word came that an expedition was making all haste to cross the ocean and occupy Louisiana.

Meanwhile, the Spanish intendant of the province put forth a proclamation, closed the navigation of the Mississippi to American citizens, forbade all trade, and took away the right of deposit at New Orleans. Protected by this right, the inhabitants of Kentucky and Ohio had for seven years past been floating tobacco and flour, bacon and hams, down the Mississippi in rude arks, and deposit-

ing them in the warehouses of New Orleans, there to await the arrival of the sloops and scows to carry them to the West Indies, or to points along the Atlantic coast. The intendant could, at any time, shift the place of deposit; but, by the terms of the treaty of 1795, some convenient port near the mouth of the river must always be open for the deposit of goods and produce. In this respect, therefore, the treaty had been violated; for, when New Orleans was shut, no other town was opened.

[The state of affairs here indicated was earnestly debated in Congress, and a resolution passed which, while not accusing Spain, declared that the rights of navigation and deposit should be maintained.]

Jefferson was now free to act without fear of meddling from the House, and he speedily did so. The Senate, in a special message, was informed that he had not been idle; that such measures had been promptly taken as seemed likely to bring a friendly settlement about, and that the purpose of these measures was the buying of so much territory on the east bank of the river as would put at rest forever the vexed question of the use of its mouth. His confidence in the ability of the minister at the court of France to accomplish this was unlimited. Yet he could not but believe that the end would be hastened by sending to his aid a man fresh from the United States and bearing with him a just and lively sense of the feeling late events had aroused in the great mass of the people. He therefore nominated James Monroe to be minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to France, and minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Spain; for, Louisiana not having been actually transferred to France, it seemed proper that his Catholic majesty should also be consulted. The Senate confirmed the nomination, and gave Monroe full power, in conjunction with Livingston in France and Pinckney in

Spain, to frame any treaty or convention that extended and secured the rights of the United States on the Mississippi, and set apart two millions of dollars to be used, it was understood, for the purchase of the island of New Orleans.

[The Federalists in Congress strongly opposed these measures, and offered resolutions tending towards war with Spain. They declared that the free navigation of the river was a clear right of the United States, and that interference with it by Spain was a hostile aggression. They demanded that the President should take possession of some fit place of deposit, and that, if necessary, fifty thousand militia should be called out, and five millions of dollars appropriated for this purpose. These resolutions were opposed and voted down by the Republican party, but in their place a bill was passed authorizing the President to call out a provisional army of eighty thousand militia, and to spend twenty-five thousand dollars in building arsenals in the West.]

For the troops the President had no need. The Republicans were right, and, in a few months, far more was secured by negotiation than the Federalists had ever expected to obtain by violence and the use of arms. For months past Livingston had been trying to persuade the First Consul to sell a part of Louisiana to the United States. He begged the Spanish minister to hinder the transfer of the district to France; for, till the transfer was made, the colonists Napoleon was bent on sending to America were not likely to sail. Again and again he demanded a speedy settlement of the debt due to American merchants, and urged the benefits France would derive by parting with a piece of her ancient soil. Not a word came in reply. The man through whose hands his notes all passed was Talleyrand, who still held under Napoleon the same place he once held under the five Directors. Change of master was the only change that able and unprincipled minister had undergone. He was still the treacherous,

grasping, ambitious knave of 1797. To Livingston he was all graciousness, but not a word of the American minister's notes reached the First Consul that Talleyrand did not approve. To sell Louisiana was not the wish of Talleyrand. He would see France once more in possession of her old domain, firmly planted on American soil, controlling the Mississippi, setting bounds to the United States, threatening Canada, and, it might be in the near future, planting the tricolor on the walls of that great fortress from which England had pulled down the lilies of France.

It is idle to speculate what might have been the destiny of our country had Louisiana become permanently a possession of France. The thing was not to be. Convinced that Talleyrand was tricky, Livingston passed him by and wrote directly to the man whose will was the will of France. Citizen First Consul was asked if the French did not intend to pay their just debts. He was reminded that the Board of Accounts had liquidated and given certificates for about one-quarter of the debt, that on these certificates the American merchants had raised small sums to enable them to live, and that, on a sudden, while the Board went on liquidating, the certificates ceased to be given. He was told of the feeling aroused in the United States by the change about to take place in the ownership of Louisiana. He was asked to sell so much of the territory as lay south of latitude thirty-one, from the Mississippi to the Perdido, and so much as, west of the Mississippi, lay north of the Arkansas River. Thus would the United States secure the mouths of the rivers flowing from her territory to the Mexican gulf. Thus would France have a barrier placed between her and the possessions of her most ancient foe. Was not this to be considered? The cupidity of Britain knew no bounds. The Cape, Malta, Egypt, had already awakened her avarice.

Should she turn her arms westward, a struggle for Louisiana would at once begin. Of what use could the province be to France? To enable her to command the gulf, supply her islands, and give an outlet to her surplus population. To scatter population over a boundless region was, therefore, bad policy: the true policy was to concentrate and keep it near the sea. The country south of the Arkansas could well maintain a colony of fifteen millions of souls. Could France keep more in subjection? Ought not far-away colonies to be moderate in size? Would rich and prosperous settlements up the Missouri River always be content to pay allegiance to the distant ruler of France?

These memorials brought a speedy reply. Livingston was assured that the First Consul would see to it that the debts were paid, and would send a minister to the United States with full power to act. The minister was to have been General Bernadotte; but on this mission he was destined never to depart. In March the quarrel with England concerning Malta grew serious. "I must," said Napoleon to Lord Whitworth, in the presence of the assembled ministers of Europe, "I must either have Malta or war." New combinations were forming against him in Europe; all England was loudly demanding that Louisiana should be attacked, and, lest it should be taken from him, he determined to sell it to the United States.

April eleventh Talleyrand asked Livingston for an offer for Louisiana entire. The island of New Orleans and West Florida, he was told, were wanted, and no more. This much sold, what remained would, he asserted, be of small value. He would therefore like to know what price the United States would give for all. Livingston thought twenty millions of francs, and Talleyrand departed, protesting the sum was far too small.

The next day Monroe reached Paris, and the day after

Barbé-Marbois, Minister of the Treasury, called. Marbois astonished Livingston by declaring that one hundred millions of francs and the payment of the debts due American citizens was the price of Louisiana. This would bring the cost to one hundred and twenty-five millions, for at twenty-five millions of francs Livingston estimated the debts. He pronounced the price exorbitant; Marbois admitted that it was, and asked to take back to St. Cloud an offer of eighty millions of francs, including twenty millions for the debts. Some higgling now took place; but on these terms the purchase was effected by the three instruments dated April thirtieth, 1803.

[These were, a treaty of cession, an instrument arranging the mode of payment, and one treating of the debts, their character, and the method of their settlement.]

Jefferson was greatly puzzled when these three documents reached his hand. He had offered to buy an island for a dock-yard and a place of deposit; he was offered a magnificent domain. He had been authorized to expend two millions of dollars; the sum demanded was fifteen. As a strict constructionist he could not, and for a while he did not, consider the purchase of foreign territory as a constitutional act. But when he thought of the evils that would follow if Louisiana remained with France, and of the blessings that would follow if Louisiana came to the United States, his common sense got the better of his narrow political scruples, and he soon found a way of escape. He would accept the treaty, summon Congress, urge the House and Senate to perfect the purchase, and trust to the Constitution being amended so as to make the purchase legal.

[A sharp debate in Congress ensued, the old Federal party strongly opposing the consummation of the purchase. The enormous increase

the purchase would make in the national debt became a favorite theme, and every effort was made by writers and printers to show the people what a stupendous sum fifteen millions of dollars was.]

Fifteen millions of dollars! they would exclaim. The sale of a wilderness has not usually commanded a price so high. Ferdinand Gorges received but twelve hundred and fifty pounds sterling for the province of Maine. William Penn gave for the wilderness that now bears his name but a trifle over five thousand pounds. Fifteen millions of dollars! A breath will suffice to pronounce the words. A few strokes of the pen will express the sum on paper. But not one man in a thousand has any conception of the magnitude of the amount. Weigh it, and there will be four hundred and thirty-three tons of solid silver. Load it into wagons, and there will be eight hundred and sixty-six of them. Place the wagons in a line, giving two rods to each, and they will cover a distance of five and one-third miles. Hire a laborer to shovel it into the carts, and, though he load sixteen each day, he will not finish the work in two months. Stack it up dollar on dollar, and, supposing nine to make an inch, the pile will be more than three miles high. . . . All the gold and all the silver coin in the United States would, if collected, fall vastly short of such a sum. We must, therefore, create a stock, and for fifteen years to come pay two thousand four hundred and sixty-five dollars interest each day. Invest the principal as a school fund, and the interest will support, forever, eighteen hundred free schools, allowing fifty scholars and five hundred dollars to each school. For whose benefit is the purchase made? The South and West. Will they pay a share of the debt? No, for the tax on whiskey has been removed.

Statistics, most happily, were of no avail. The mass of the people pronounced the purchase a bargain. The

Senate, on October nineteenth, ratified the treaty and conventions; the ratification of Napoleon was already in the hands of the French *chargé*, and on October twenty-first Jefferson informed Congress that ratifications had that day been exchanged. On November tenth the act creating the eleven millions two hundred and fifty thousand dollars of stock called for by the first convention was passed. On December twentieth, 1803, Louisiana was peaceably taken possession of by the United States.

The province of Louisiana, as the region came to be called, was to the Americans of that day an unknown land. Not a boundary was defined. Not a scrap of trustworthy information concerning the region was to be obtained. Meagre accounts of what travellers had seen on the Missouri, of what hunters and trappers knew of the upper Mississippi, of what the Indians said were the features of the great plains that stretched away toward the setting sun, had indeed reached the officials, and out of these was constructed the most remarkable document any President has ever transmitted to Congress. It told of a tribe of Indians of gigantic stature; of tall bluffs faced with stone and carved by the hand of Nature into what seemed a multitude of antique towers; of land so fertile as to yield the necessities of life almost spontaneously; of an immense prairie covered with buffalo, and producing nothing but grass because the soil was far too rich for the growth of trees; and how, a thousand miles up the Missouri, was a vast mountain of salt! The length was one hundred and eighty miles; the breadth was forty-five; not a tree, not so much as a shrub, was on it; but, all glittering white, it rose from the earth a solid mountain of rock salt, with streams of saline water flowing from the fissures and cavities at its base! The story, the account admitted, might well seem incredible; but, unhappily for

the doubters, bushels of the salt had been shown by traders to the people at St. Louis and Marietta. . . .

The vexed question of the existence of the salt mountain was soon to be put at rest. Many months before, while the country was excited over the closing of the Mississippi, Jefferson urged Congress to send a party of explorers up the Missouri to its source, and thence overland to the Pacific Ocean. The idea was a happy one, was approved, an appropriation made, and Meriwether Lewis and William Clark chosen to carry out the plan. Jefferson drew their instructions, and on May fourteenth, 1804, the party entered the Missouri. In time they crossed the mountains, reached the Pacific, and wandered over that fine region which came afterward to be known as Oregon.

[In 1792 the mouth of the Columbia River had been discovered by Robert Gray, a merchant-captain trading between Boston and China by way of Cape Horn, and the first American to carry the flag of the United States around the world.

With the purchase of Louisiana is connected an important incident in the life of the celebrated Aaron Burr, which may be mentioned here. This personage, after serving a term as Vice-President of the United States, killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel growing out of a political quarrel. Burr next, having lost his property and having incensed the people against him, made his way to the West, and while there organized what was supposed to be a scheme for making war on the Spanish territories adjoining the newly-gained district of Louisiana. It is said that he intended to make himself monarch of this region, and also that he designed separating the Western Territories from the United States. His suspicious movements alarmed the government, and a proclamation was issued, warning the Western people against illegal enterprises, and ordering the arrest of Burr and his followers. He was eventually arrested in Mississippi Territory, and sent to Richmond, where he was tried for treason, in a case that excited wide-spread attention. No overt act was proved against him, and he was acquitted. Upon his acquittal he went to Europe, where he lived for some time in extreme poverty. Returning to America, he practised law in an obscure manner for many years, and died in 1836.]

STEPHEN DECATUR AND THE FRIGATE PHILADELPHIA.

J. FENIMORE COOPER.

[The close of the Revolutionary War, although it secured the recognition of the United States as a sovereign and independent nation, by no means removed all the difficulties in its path to empire. From the very first, sources of complaint existed between the two lately warring countries. Great Britain was accused of carrying away negroes at the close of the war, of illegal seizures of American property, and of retaining military posts in the West on what was now territory of the United States. The United States was charged with withholding the estates of loyalists, and preventing British subjects from recovering debts contracted before the war. It was feared that another war might arise from these disputes, particularly as the Indian outbreaks in the West were known to have been encouraged by British emissaries, while the defeated savages fled to British forts for protection. These difficulties were fortunately settled by a treaty made in 1795.

But new sources of trouble quickly arose. The commerce of America was now increasing with remarkable rapidity. For the protection of this growing commerce the country possessed a very inefficient navy, and it was exposed to perils which quickly brought the country into danger of war with France, and eventually resulted in two wars, one with Tripoli and one with England. The outcome of the French Revolution had now brought all Europe under arms, and England had begun that vast struggle against the power and genius of Napoleon which was destined to become the most remarkable event of modern warfare. At the outbreak of the war the Republican party favored the French, but the administration was in favor of England. Angered at this, and at the treaty concluded between the United States and Great Britain, the French Directory adopted measures highly injurious to American commerce. Envoys were sent to France, whom the Directory refused to receive, while an unofficial demand was made for a large sum of money as a preliminary to negotiations. This was refused, and two of the envoys, who were Federalists, were soon afterwards ordered to leave France.

As war now appeared inevitable, the people of the United States

being roused to a state of high indignation, measures were taken for raising an army, a naval armament was decided upon, and captures of French vessels were authorized. A few naval encounters took place, in which on one side an American armed schooner and on the other a French frigate were captured, when the Directory gave way, and made overtures of peace. Ministers were accordingly sent to France to settle the difficulties by treaty.

Meanwhile, Great Britain had begun that system of impressment of seamen from American merchant-vessels which was destined to result finally in war between the two nations. Seriously in need of men to aid in her struggle with France, and now unable to buy them from the German duchies, as she had done in the American war, she claimed the right to take British seamen wherever found, and to stop and search vessels on the high seas. At first, indeed, the claim was limited to deserters from the British service. But it was soon extended to cover British seamen, and finally to embrace all British subjects. Eventually the seamen on American merchantmen were obliged to prove on the spot that they were of American birth, or be subject to impressment. As early as the years 1796-7 applications were made in London for the release of two hundred and seventy-one seamen thus seized within nine months, most of them American citizens. It was later, however, before this evil grew so intolerable as to demand warlike redress.

The first commercial war of the United States arose from a different cause, the depredations of Moorish pirates upon American merchantmen. For many years past the Barbary Powers of Northern Africa had made the Mediterranean unsafe for commerce, and the weaker mercantile nations of Europe, after some unsuccessful attempts to suppress these outrages, had consented to pay an annual tribute for the security of their commerce. The United States for some time did the same, but a bolder course was soon adopted, and war declared against Tripoli, the most annoying of these piratical powers. This war continued from 1801 to 1804. In 1803, Commodore Preble was sent with a fleet to the Mediterranean. He forced the Emperor of Morocco to adopt pacific measures, and then proceeded to Tripoli. Here one of his squadron, the frigate *Philadelphia*, while reconnoitring in the harbor, ran on a reef, and was taken by the Tripolitans. This event, and those which succeeded, were of such interest and importance that we select a detailed description of them from Cooper's "*Naval History of the United States.*"

TOWARDS the last of the month of October, the wind, which had been strong from the westward for some time previously, drove the Philadelphia a considerable distance to the eastward of the town, and on Monday, October the 31st, as she was running down to her station again, with a fair breeze, about nine in the morning, a vessel was seen in-shore and to windward, standing for Tripoli. Sail was made to cut her off. Believing himself to be within long-range shot a little before eleven, and seeing no other chance of overtaking the stranger in the distance that remained, Captain Bainbridge opened a fire, in the hope of cutting something away. For near an hour longer the chase and the fire were continued, the lead, which was constantly kept going, giving from seven to ten fathoms, and the ship hauling up and keeping away as the water shoaled or deepened. At half-past eleven, Tripoli being then in plain sight, distant a little more than a league, satisfied that he could neither overtake the chase nor force her ashore, Captain Bainbridge ordered the helm aport, to haul directly off the land into deep water. The next cast of the lead, when this order was executed, gave but eight fathoms, and this was immediately followed by casts that gave seven, and six and a half. At this moment the wind was nearly abeam, and the ship had eight knots' way on her. When the cry of "half-six" was heard, the helm was put hard down, and the yards were ordered to be braced sharp up. While the ship was coming up fast to the wind, and before she had lost any of her way, she struck a reef forwards, and shot up on it, until she lifted between five and six feet.

This was an appalling accident to occur on the coast of such an enemy, at that season of the year, and with no other cruiser near. It was first attempted to force the vessel ahead, under the impression that the best water was to seaward; but on sounding round the ship it was found

that she had run up with such force as to lie nearly cradled on the rocks, there being only fourteen feet of water under the fore-chains, while the ship drew, before striking, eighteen and a half feet forward. Astern there were not eighteen feet of water, instead of twenty and a half, which the frigate needed. Such an accident could only have occurred by the vessel's hitting the reef at a spot where it sloped gradually, and where, most probably, the constant washing of the element had rendered the surface smooth, and by her going up on top of one of those long, heavy, but nearly imperceptible swells that are always agitating the bosom of the ocean.

[Strenuous efforts were made to get the vessel off, as some gunboats had appeared from the town. The sails were braced aft, and the guns run astern, but without effect.]

Captain Bainbridge next gave orders to throw overboard all the guns, after reserving a few aft, that were retained for defence; and the anchors, with the exception of the larboard bower, were cut from the bows. Before this could be effected, the enemy came within gunshot, and opened his fire. Fortunately, the Tripolitans were ignorant of the desperate condition of the Philadelphia, and were kept at a respectful distance by the few guns that remained; else they might have destroyed most of the crew, it being certain that the colors would not be struck so long as there was any hope of getting the ship afloat. The cannonade, which was distant and inefficient, and the business of lightening the frigate, went on at the same time, and occupied several hours.

The enemy finally became so bold that they crossed the stern of the frigate, where alone they were at all exposed to her fire, and took a position on her starboard or weather quarter. Here it was impossible to touch them, the ship

having slewed to port in a way to render it impracticable to bring a single gun to bear, or indeed to use one at all, on that side.

Captain Bainbridge now called another council of his officers, and it was determined to make a last effort to get the vessel off. The water-casks in the hold were started, and the water was pumped out. All the heavy articles that could be got at were thrown overboard, and finally the foremast was cut away, bringing down with it the main-top-gallant mast. Notwithstanding all this, the vessel remained as immovable as the rocks on which she lay.

The gunboats were growing bolder every minute, others were approaching, and night was at hand. Captain Bainbridge, after consulting again with his officers, felt it to be an imperious duty to haul down his flag, to save the lives of the people. Before this was done, however, the magazine was drowned, holes were bored in the ship's bottom, the pumps were choked, and everything was performed that it was thought would make sure of the final loss of the vessel. About five o'clock the colors were lowered.

[The gunboats at once ran alongside and took possession, and the officers and crew were sent as prisoners to Tripoli, after being stripped, in some cases, of nearly all their clothing. The officers were well treated by the bashaw, but the capture of so many prisoners made an instant change in his position. He had taken three hundred and fifteen captives, twenty-two of them quarter-deck officers, from the *Philadelphia*, for whom he demanded an enormous ransom, while his former supposed inclination to peace disappeared. A few days afterwards the prize was got off the reef, partly by the aid of a high wind, and was taken in triumph to the city, the leaks being stopped. The guns, anchors, and other articles which had been thrown upon the reef were raised, and the ship partly repaired, and moored off the town, about a quarter of a mile from the bashaw's castle, her guns being remounted.

The fleet had been absent during these occurrences, Commodore Preble first learning at Malta of the loss of the *Philadelphia*. On his return to Tripoli a suggestion was made by Captain Bainbridge of the possibility of destroying the lost vessel, which was slowly being fitted for sea as a Tripolitan cruiser. The suggestion being made to Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, commander of the *Enterprise*, he at once decided to attempt the perilous undertaking, with the aid of a ketch called the *Mastico*, which he had recently captured. This vessel was fitted for the purpose, renamed the *Intrepid*, and on the evening of February 3, 1804, entered the harbor of Tripoli, having on board a crew of seventy-six men.]

It was a mild evening for the season, and the sea and bay were smooth as in summer. Perceiving that he was likely to get in too soon, when about five miles from the rocks Mr. Decatur ordered buckets and other drags to be towed astern, in order to lessen the way of the ketch, without shortening sail, as the latter expedient would have been seen from the port and must have awakened suspicion. In the mean time the wind gradually fell, until it became so light as to leave the ketch but about two knots' way upon her, when the drags were removed.

About ten o'clock the *Intrepid* reached the eastern entrance of the bay, or the passage between the rocks and the shoal. The wind was nearly east, and, as she steered directly for the frigate, it was well abaft the beam. There was a young moon, and as these bold adventurers were slowly advancing into a hostile port, all around them was tranquil and apparently without distrust. For near an hour they were stealing slowly along, the air gradually failing, until their motion became scarcely perceptible.

Most of the officers and men of the ketch had been ordered to lie on the deck, where they were concealed by low bulwarks, or weather-boards, and by the different objects that belong to a vessel. As it is the practice of those seas to carry a number of men even in the smallest

craft, the appearance of ten or twelve would excite no alarm, and this number was visible.

[The Philadelphia hailed the ketch, when sufficiently near. Answer was returned that it was a Maltese vessel, which had lost its anchors in a gale, and wished to ride by the frigate during the night. The pilot, who could speak the Tripolitan language, continued to converse with the Moors, until the ketch came so near as nearly to run afoul of the frigate.]

Not the smallest suspicion appears to have been yet excited on board the frigate, though several of her people were looking over her rails, and notwithstanding the moonlight. So completely were the Turks deceived that they lowered a boat and sent it with a fast. Some of the ketch's men, in the mean time, had got into her boat, and had run a line to the frigate's fore-chains. As they returned, they met the frigate's boat, took the fast it brought, which came from the after part of the ship, and passed it into their own vessel. These fasts were put into the hands of the men, as they lay on the ketch's deck, and they began cautiously to breast the Intrepid alongside of the Philadelphia, without rising. As soon as the former got near enough to the ship, the Turks discovered her anchors, and they sternly ordered the ketch to keep off, as she had deceived them,—preparing, at the same time, to cut the fasts. All this passed in a moment, when the cry of "Amerikanos!" was heard in the ship. The people of the Intrepid, by a strong pull, brought their vessel alongside of the frigate, where she was secured, quick as thought. Up to this movement not a whisper had betrayed the presence of the men concealed. The instructions had been positive, to keep quiet until commanded to show themselves, and no precipitation, even in that trying moment, deranged the plan.

Lieutenant-Commander Decatur was standing ready for

a spring, with Messrs. Laws and Morris quite near him. As soon as close enough, he jumped at the frigate's chain-plates, and, while clinging to the ship himself, he gave the order to board. The two midshipmen were at his side, and all the officers and men of the *Intrepid* arose and followed. The three gentlemen named were in the chains together, and Lieutenant-Commander Decatur and Mr. Morris sprang at the rail above them, while Mr. Laws dashed at a port. To the latter would have belonged the honor of having been first in this gallant assault, but, wearing a boarding-belt, his pistols were caught between the gun and the side of the port. Mr. Decatur's foot slipped in springing, and Mr. Charles Morris stood first upon the quarter-deck of the *Philadelphia*. In an instant Lieutenant-Commander Decatur and Mr. Laws were at his side, while heads and bodies appeared coming over the rail, and through the ports, in all directions.

The surprise appears to have been as perfect as the assault was rapid and earnest. Most of the Turks on deck crowded forward, and all ran over to the starboard side as their enemies poured in on the larboard. A few were aft, but as soon as charged they leaped into the water. Indeed, the constant plunges into the water gave the assailants the assurance that their enemies were fast lessening in numbers by flight. It took but a minute or two to clear the spar-deck, though there was more of a struggle below. Still, so admirably managed was the attack, and so complete the surprise, that the resistance was but trifling. In less than ten minutes Mr. Decatur was on the quarter-deck again, in undisturbed possession of the prize.

There can be no doubt that this gallant officer now felt bitter regrets that it was not in his power to bring away the ship he had so nobly recovered. Not only were his

orders on this point peremptory, however, but the frigate had not a sail bent, nor a yard crossed, and she wanted her foremast. It was next to impossible, therefore, to remove her, and the command was given to pass up the combustibles from the ketch.

The duty of setting fire to the prize appears to have been executed with as much promptitude and order as every other part of the service. The officers distributed themselves, agreeably to the previous instructions, and the men soon appeared with the necessary means. Each party acted by itself, and as it got ready. So rapid were they all in their movements that the men with combustibles had scarcely time to get as low as the cockpit and after-store-rooms before the fires were lighted over their heads. When the officer intrusted with the duty last mentioned had got through, he found the after-hatches filled with smoke from the fire in the ward-room and steerage, and he was obliged to make his escape by the forward ladders.

The Americans were in the ship from twenty to twenty-five minutes, and they were literally driven out of her by the flames. The vessel had got to be so dry in that low latitude that she burnt like pine; and the combustibles had been as judiciously prepared as they were steadily used. The last party up were the people who had been in the store-rooms, and when they reached the deck they found most of their companions already in the *Intrepid*. Joining them, and ascertaining that all was ready, the order was given to cast off. Notwithstanding the daring character of the enterprise in general, Mr. Decatur and his party now ran the greatest risks they had incurred that night. So fierce had the conflagration already become that the flames began to pour out of the ports, and, the head-fast having been cast off, the ketch fell astern, with her jigger flapping against the quarter-galley, and

her boom foul. The fire showed itself in the window at this critical moment, and beneath was all the ammunition of the party, covered with a tarpaulin. To increase the risk, the stern-fast was jammed. By using swords, however, for there was no time to look for an axe, the hawser was cut, and the *Intrepid* was extricated from the most imminent danger by a vigorous shove. As she swung clear of the frigate, the flames reached the rigging, up which they went hissing like a rocket, the tar having oozed from the ropes, which had been saturated with that inflammable matter. Matches could not have kindled with greater quickness.

The sweeps were now manned. Up to this moment everything had been done earnestly, though without noise, but as soon as they felt that they had got command of their ketch again, and by two or three vigorous strokes had sent her away from the frigate, the people of the *Intrepid* ceased rowing, and, as one man, they gave three cheers for victory. This appeared to arouse the Turks from their stupor, for the cry had hardly ended when the batteries, the two corsairs, and the galley [which lay close within the *Philadelphia*] poured in their fire. The men laid hold of the sweeps again, of which the *Intrepid* had eight of a side, and, favored by a light air, they went merrily down the harbor.

The spectacle that followed is described as having been both beautiful and sublime. The entire bay was illuminated by the conflagration, the roar of cannon was constant, and Tripoli was in a clamor. The appearance of the ship was in the highest degree magnificent; and, to add to the effect, as her guns heated they began to go off. Owing to the shift of wind, and the position into which she had tended, she, in some measure, returned the enemy's fire, as one of her broadsides was discharged in the direc-

tion of the town, and the other towards Fort English. The most singular effect of the conflagration was on board the ship, for the flames, having run up the rigging and masts, collected under the tops, and fell over, giving the whole the appearance of glowing columns and fiery capitals.

[The *Intrepid* continued her course outward, unpursued, and unhurt by the shot that was sent after her, until she reached the *Siren*, which had lain outside the harbor during the enterprise. Setting sail, they made their way to Syracuse, where the fleet lay.]

The success of this gallant exploit laid the foundation of the name which Mr. Decatur subsequently acquired in the navy. The country applauded the feat generally; and the commanding officer was raised from the station of a lieutenant to that of a captain. . . .

In whatever light we regard this exploit, it extorts our admiration and praise,—the boldness in the conception of the enterprise having been surpassed only by the perfect manner in which all its parts were executed. Nothing appears to have been wanting, in a military point of view; nothing was deranged, nothing defeated. The hour was well chosen, and no doubt it was a chief reason why the corsairs, gunboats, and batteries were, in the first place, so slow in commencing their fire, and so uncertain in their aim when they did open on the Americans. In appreciating the daring of the attempt, we have only to consider what might have been the consequences had the assault upon the frigate been repulsed. Directly under her guns, with a harbor filled with light cruisers, gunboats, and galleys, and surrounded by forts and batteries, the inevitable destruction of all in the *Intrepid* must have followed. These were dangers that cool steadiness and entire self-possession, aided by perfect discipline, could alone avert. In the service the enterprise has ever been regarded as

one of its most brilliant achievements, and to this day it is deemed a high honor to have been one of the Intrepid's crew.

[The war with Tripoli continued until 1805, when a land-expedition was undertaken which captured Derne, a Tripolitan city. The army of the bashaw was also defeated in two engagements, after which he offered terms of peace, which were accepted. The fleet next anchored in the Bay of Tunis, and forced the monarch of that country into peaceful measures. War subsequently broke out in the same region, with Algiers. From 1795 to 1812 an annual tribute had been paid to the dey of this country, but he took advantage of the war of America with England to begin a piratical warfare on American vessels. In 1815, Commodore Decatur was sent to Algiers with a fleet, and, after capturing several of the largest vessels of the dey, compelled that potentate to release all American prisoners in his possession, and to give up all future claims of tribute from the United States. Tunis and Tripoli were also humbled, and the long-continued piracies of the Barbary Powers finally suppressed.]

THE CHESAPEAKE AFFAIR AND THE EMBARGO.

JAMES SCHOULER.

[The terrible and long-continued conflict in Europe between England and her allies on the one hand and Napoleon on the other could not fail to be felt in America, and, as the combat grew more desperate and the powers of the combatants more strained, measures were taken whose effects were severely felt by all the civilized world. The demand for men made England eager to gain sailors and soldiers from any source and in any manner, and the principle of impressment was extended from British soil to the merchant-ships of the United States. Many American citizens were thus impressed, under the claim that they were British subjects. Long persistence in this course made the captains of British war-vessels so over-bold and insolent that they finally enforced their "right of search" upon an American frigate.

The story of this outrageous proceeding, and of the subsequent measures adopted in America to punish England and France for their tyranny towards commerce, is well told in Schouler's "History of the United States," from which we select the following description.]

A CANNON-SHOT from a British man-of-war parted the flimsy veil of diplomatic assurances that a right of search could be considerably practised, and made a breach that was never repaired. The insolence of British naval commanders on the American coast had certainly suffered little constraint under recent orders from home. In the course of the spring a British sloop-of-war, one of the vessels which had been inhibited by the President's proclamation at the time of the *Leander* outrage, entered Charleston harbor to procure water, and defied the local authorities when ordered to depart.

That affront to the United States was trivial in comparison with one that presently followed. Three seamen, having deserted from the *Melampus*, one of the British squadron whose rendezvous was just within the capes of Virginia, enlisted on board the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, then fitting out at the Washington navy-yard for the Mediterranean. Their surrender was requested by Minister Erskine, but our administration declined, on ample grounds, to comply. We have seen that our government was now offering to forbid the employment of deserters, on reciprocal terms, and as an inducement to some relaxation of impressment on England's part. Without a treaty, as was the case here, no obligation rested upon the United States to surrender deserters from the British navy at all; the more so that, unlike desertions from merchantmen, which are mere breaches of private contract, desertion from a ship of war must have subjected the culprit to the punishment of a court-martial. Inquiries showed, moreover, that all these men were col-

ored, and Americans by birth, two of whom had been pressed into the British service from an American vessel in the Bay of Biscay. To this government the mutual extradition was of very little consequence; and yet, so far from countenancing British desertions, our executive had forbidden the enlistment of persons in the navy known to be British subjects, a prohibition which did not here apply.

Official correspondence closed, but the British captains appear to have stimulated Admiral Berkeley, who commanded, to issue from Halifax an extraordinary order, enabling them to take the law into their own hands. Sailing from Washington in June, and reporting at Norfolk to Commodore Barron for duty, the Chesapeake dropped down to Hampton Roads, and on the morning of the 22d [June, 1807] set sail, having the three colored sailors on board. From the British squadron, the Leopard, a two-decker, mounting about fifty guns, stood out to sea at the same time, preceding the Chesapeake, but keeping her in sight.

The British officers had muttered threats, though giving no clear notice of their intention. Barron, less suspicious than he should have been, proceeded on his course. The Chesapeake mounted only thirty-eight guns, some of which had just been put on board. His crew was not yet drilled to the use of ordnance, his deck was littered, and the vessel was altogether unfit for immediate action. At three o'clock in the afternoon the Leopard bore down and hailed her; and while the Chesapeake lay to, a boat from Captain Humphreys of the Leopard brought his demand for the three alleged deserters from the *Melampus*. The British lieutenant, who stepped on board, produced likewise, in token of Humphreys's authority, a copy of what purported to be a circular from the admiral at Halifax. That

circular, dated June 1, which was now produced for the first time, recited, in an exaggerated strain, that British subjects and deserters had enlisted on board the Chesapeake, and ordered all captains of his command, who should fall in with that frigate at sea, to show these instructions and proceed to search for such deserters,—the pretence being added that the search of a national vessel was according to civilized usage, which permitted the Chesapeake also to make a corresponding search in return.

Commodore Barron, though taken by surprise, made a suitable reply, denying knowledge of any such deserters, and claiming that the crew of a United States war-vessel could only be mustered by their own officers. But in his excitement he seemed to forget the sure consequence of such a response, and made his preparations for action quite tardily. The Leopard's ports were triced up when she appeared in sight, and while the lieutenant waited half an hour for his reply, the vessel had worked into an advantageous position.

Humphreys, upon the return of his boat with Barron's reply, called through a trumpet, "Commodore Barron must be aware that the orders of the admiral must be obeyed." Barron did not understand, and this was repeated. A cannon-shot across the bows of the Chesapeake followed these ominous words, soon another, and then a whole broadside. While our unfortunate frigate was exposed for twelve minutes to a raking fire, a vain effort was made to discharge its own guns; but neither priming nor match could be found, and appliances for reloading were wanting. At last, after the Chesapeake had received twenty-one round-shot in the hull, three of the crew being killed and eighteen wounded, and Barron himself receiving a slight hurt, the American flag descended, and at the same moment the first and only gun on the American side

was touched off by one of the officers by means of a live coal brought from the galley. The crew of the Chesapeake was mustered submissively before two British lieutenants, who, after a protracted search, arrested the three colored men from the *Melampus*, and one Wilson or Ratford, besides, a deserter from another British vessel, who had hidden in a coal-hole. Having secured these prisoners, Humphreys, with much show of politeness, refused to accept the Chesapeake as his prize, and sailed for Halifax. Here the four deserters were tried by British court-martial and sentenced to be hanged. Wilson, who was an English subject, was executed, but a reprieve was granted to the three colored Americans on condition of their re-entering the British service.

[This extreme instance of the exercise of the right of search, claimed by the British authorities, roused an instant storm throughout America. What had been an outrage when applied to merchant-vessels was now converted into a deep insult by this enforced search of a man-of-war.]

When, therefore, the drooping, dismantled Chesapeake came back into Norfolk harbor, bearing its dead and dying, no wonder that the smouldering wrath of our sensitive people leaped into flame. Men wore crape upon their arms to mourn for the slain. In all the chief commercial towns were held public meetings, where citizens, without distinction of party, united in execrating the British outrage. Reparation for the past and security for the future was the universal cry of American freemen:—reparation or war. "This country," wrote Jefferson, "has never been in such a state of excitement since the battle of Lexington."

A Cabinet meeting was promptly called at Washington, and measures resolved upon in tone with the public expression,—not, however, to the extent of declaring war, though from the temper of the new British ministry this

was expected to follow. American vessels in distant ports were warned of their danger. Recent appropriations for defence were used in strengthening our most exposed ports, New York, New Orleans, and Charleston. Of the gunboats available for service, most were assigned to New York, New Orleans, and the Chesapeake. Military stores were procured, and States were called upon for their quotas of one hundred thousand militia to be organized and ready to march.

A proclamation ordered British cruisers to depart from American waters, and forbade all aid and intercourse with them except in case of extremity. On the return of the Chesapeake to Norfolk, the inhabitants of that town had resolved in public meeting to hold no intercourse with the British squadron in the vicinity until the President's pleasure was known. This decision was received with contemptuous defiance by the British commander Douglas, whose squadron remained within our waters, chasing American merchantmen, until Governor Cabell, of Virginia, ordered militia detachments to the scene. There was no naval force on the coast adequate for compelling obedience to the President's proclamation, a circumstance of which British cruisers took advantage; but so long as they lay quietly outside there was no disposition to molest them.

[Orders were at once sent to Minister Monroe, in London, to suspend all negotiations with England, except for a disavowal of and redress for this outrage. The ministry at once disavowed the act, and a conditional reparation was promised. This, however, was never made. Apology and indemnity to the families of the slain could not be given without yielding the claim of the right to search American vessels, and this the ministry continued to insist upon. The fierce struggle between England and Napoleon, indeed, brought fresh measures into vogue, which bore yet more severely on neutral nations. British "Orders in Council," and Napoleon's counter-proclamations, cut off all the com-

merce of the United States with Europe, and no merchant-vessel could cross the ocean to a European port except under peril of capture and confiscation. By way of reprisal, Congress, at the suggestion of President Jefferson, on December 18, 1807, passed a bill laying an embargo on all foreign-bound vessels, with the expectation that if all American commerce with Europe were thus prevented, the authorities of England and France would be glad to rescind their oppressive decrees. The idea proved erroneous. It quickly appeared that the warring powers could do without America better than America could do without them.]

Congress had adjourned in April [1808], leaving the President at full leisure to apply his experiment during a long recess. At first embargo had been well received, but after the spring elections appeared decisive symptoms that sentiment was changing. The stoppage of commerce bore with crushing severity upon New England, whose ships and seamen were thrown suddenly out of employment. Her old merchants tottered to ruin, without a general bankrupt law to relieve them. Breadstuffs and fresh provisions accumulated at the wharves, which, if not exported, would perish and be a dead loss. The high price of such supplies abroad, in comparison with the statute penalties, encouraged shippers to practise every artifice to get them out of the country, though at the risk of capture. The law was evaded by fraud or force; vessels slipped out from Machias, Portland, Nantucket, and Newport harbors; and so high-handed was the resistance to embargo on the Canada border at Lake Champlain, where an illicit traffic went on, that the national government had to equip vessels and send troops thither to maintain its authority.

Flour was the chief commodity in these smuggling ventures. Much was got over the lines into Canada; barrels upon barrels were stored, too, at Eastport and in the southern ports of Georgia, ready to be conveyed, as opportunity might serve, into New Brunswick over the one boundary

and Florida over the other. On this account, chiefly, Congress had passed the third Embargo Act just before adjournment, under which the President was empowered to grant special permits for vessels to clear from ports adjacent to foreign territories and make seizure and search of suspected vessels. Collectors were accordingly directed not to grant clearances at all to vessels laden with flour. But, some States finding it needful to import flour for home consumption, the President authorized the respective governors to grant merchandise permits for domestic convenience to those in whom they had confidence. This plan worked badly, for some of the State executives, in fulfilling their functions as "ministers of starvation," yielded too readily to the clamors of the merchants who pestered them, as did especially the easy-tempered Sullivan, whose official permits soon began circulating in cities as far south as Washington, where they were openly bought and sold. By a later circular the President advised the collectors not to detain coastwise vessels with unsuspicious cargoes; and this rule operated much better.

New York city felt embargo like the creep of death. In November that port was full of shipping. On the wharves were strewn bales of cotton, wool, and merchandise; barrels of potash, rice, flour, and salted provisions; hogsheads of sugar, tea, rum, and wine. Carters, sailors, and stevedores were busy. The Tontine Coffee-House was filled with underwriters, brokers, and merchants, all driving a brisk business, while the auctioneer on the front steps knocked off the goods which were heaped about the sidewalk. Carts, drays, and wheelbarrows jammed up the Wall and Pearl Street corner. But the next April all was quiet and stagnation; crowds and merchandise had vanished from Coffee-House Slip, and many commercial houses in the vicinity were closed up.

By midsummer the President and Secretary Gallatin were burdened with cases which required special instructions. They were tormented by personal applications for leave to transport. Against every loop-hole appeared the pressure of a besieging host. It was the most embarrassing law Jefferson had ever to execute; he had not expected such a sudden growth of fraud and open opposition. But he was resolved, nevertheless, that the convenience of the citizen should yield far enough to give the experiment a fair trial. . . .

History must admit that so far as embargo was used as a weapon for coercing Europe it utterly disappointed expectation. The sacrifice required at home, in order to produce an impression abroad, proved of itself fatal in practice to the long endurance of any such experiment. If England bled, or France, under the operation, the United States bled faster. Jefferson miscalculated in supposing that the European struggle had nearly culminated, or that the nerveless Continental powers could organize an armed neutrality to protect their own interests. Instead of a sinking, vacillating, debt-ridden England, he found a stubborn England making capital of what it owed, its prodigious resources slowly uncoiling. He found a new ministry, hard as flint, with Parliament to brace it, bending with redoubled energies to the war, heedless of Liverpool remonstrances, marching the red-coats to break up meetings and suppress riots in Manchester and those other manufacturing towns where embargo and the Continental exclusion were most heavily felt. Next to making American commerce tributary to the British exchequer, the aim of those who framed the Orders in Council had been to drive it from the ocean, so that British merchants might absorb the maritime trade once more to themselves. This latter alternative embargo directly favored. Our non-

importation act, which had now gone into effect against Great Britain, made it still less an object for that country to court a repeal of the embargo. By way, too, of partial offset to the loss of our market, a new one was opened to England by the outbreak in Spain. As if to exasperate us to the utmost, the Orders in Council were repealed as to that nation, but not the United States.

[Slowly and surely America was drifting towards war, as the only escape from the evils produced by the European struggle, which embargo and non-importation heightened instead of alleviating.]

TWO YEARS OF WAR.

CHARLES MORRIS.

THE closing act of Jefferson's administration, passed on March 1, 1809, was a repeal of the embargo, whose effect had been so ruinous to American commerce, and the passage of a bill interdicting all commercial intercourse with France and England. Jefferson, after his eight years' term, had, like Washington under the same circumstances, declined a re-election, and James Madison was made President, while George Clinton, Jefferson's second Vice-President, was re-elected. The trouble with France and England continued. The British minister at Washington agreed that the "Orders in Council" should be repealed so far as they affected the United States, but this promise was disavowed by his government, and non-intercourse, which had been suspended, was re-proclaimed. Bonaparte, in March, 1810, issued a hostile decree against American commerce, but in November he revoked this and all similar decrees, and inter-

course was resumed between France and the United States. England, however, obstinately refused to annul her hostile acts, and went so far as to station ships of war before American ports, seizing merchantmen, and sending them as legal prizes to British ports. In May, 1811, an encounter took place between the frigate *President* and the British war-sloop *Little Belt*. The captain of the latter, instead of answering the hail of Commodore Rogers, fired a shot, which was answered by a broadside. A short engagement ensued, the British losing eleven killed and twenty-one wounded, while the Americans had but one man wounded.

A state of affairs now existed between the two countries which could only end in war if England persisted in her offensive measures. America could not consent to leave her commerce and her seamen at the mercy of British cruisers. Yet the British ministry displayed unyielding obstinacy, and in April, 1812, a new embargo act was passed by Congress, while on the 4th of June a bill declaring war against Great Britain passed the House. On the 17th this bill passed the Senate, and war was proclaimed by the President on the 19th. It was a war for which no adequate provision had been made. The navy of the United States was in no condition to cope with that of England. The regular army numbered but six thousand men, and the other requisites of war were as poorly provided for. On the other hand, the time was opportunely chosen. England was still engaged in her vital struggle with France, which exhausted her resources to such an extent that she could bring but a minor portion of her strength to bear on America. Yet so miserably was the war managed on the part of the United States that the record of the first year was but a succession of shameful disasters, and it was not till 1814 that the Ameri-

cans began to show a decided ability to win battles. On the water their record was from the outset brilliant and successful.

Efforts were at once made to enlist twenty-five thousand men and to raise fifty thousand volunteers, while one hundred thousand militia were called for to defend the frontiers and the sea-coast. General Dearborn, of Massachusetts, a Revolutionary officer, was appointed commander-in-chief. The first operations of the war were directed against Canada. They were conducted with a mismanagement and incompetency which could but result in disaster. After the repulse of the Indians by Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe, in 1811, further troubles with the savages arose on the northwestern frontier, against whom marched General Hull, with an army of two thousand men. He was directed to extend his march into Canada and attack the British post at Malden. Yet ere he could reach there the strong American fort at Mackinaw was surprised and taken by the English. The garrison had not even been apprised of the declaration of war, and consequently they were utterly unprepared for an assault. Hull's expedition was shamefully mismanaged. After remaining inactive nearly a month in Canada, he hastily retreated to Detroit, where, soon afterwards, he was attacked by a smaller force of British and Indians. Though he possessed every advantage of position, he suddenly recalled his army within the fort, and the white flag of surrender was displayed, without an effort at defence. Attempts, not very satisfactory, have been made to palliate this act of seeming cowardice, which left the whole Northwest at the mercy of the British. General Hull was afterwards court-martialled and sentenced to death, but was pardoned by the President.

In other quarters the same lack of success appeared.

On the Niagara frontier, General Van Rensselaer crossed the river and captured the heights of Queenstown. Here he was attacked by a strong force, while the American militia on the other side of the river could not be induced to cross to his aid. In consequence, nearly the whole of his force was killed or captured. A second advance, under General Smyth, ended in a mere look across the river and an abandonment of the design.

There has never, before or since, been displayed such utter incompetency in American generalship as that which marked this disastrous campaign. The bravery of Van Rensselaer was the only relief to the general cowardice of the American leaders. In 1813 the campaign began with the army in three divisions, that of the West under General Harrison, that of the Niagara frontier under General Dearborn, and that of the Lake Champlain region under General Hampton. In the West General Winchester was attacked at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, by a superior force under Proctor. After a gallant defence, Winchester was taken prisoner by the Indians. Under a pledge of protection from Proctor he agreed to surrender his troops. The British general's pledge was basely violated, the wounded prisoners being left to the tender mercy of the savages.

Harrison, learning of this disaster, fell back, and began a fortified camp, which he named Fort Meigs. This fort was besieged by two thousand British and Indians, under Proctor. After a week's siege, and the repulse of a relieving party, the Indians deserted their allies, and Proctor abandoned the siege. He advanced again in the latter part of July, with a force of four thousand men, the Indians under Tecumseh. After a few days' siege he withdrew, and with a force of thirteen hundred attacked Fort Stephenson, on the site of Sandusky, then held by one

hundred and fifty men, under Major Croghan, a youth of twenty-one. Surrender was demanded, under a threat of massacre if the fort was taken, but the brave youth replied that when the fort was taken there would be no one left to kill. An attempt was then made to carry the fort by assault, which was repulsed, and the besiegers fled in a panic, having lost one hundred and fifty men.

General Dearborn's army gained some advantages. General Pike led an expedition against York, in Canada, the great depository of British military stores for the supply of the Western posts. While storming the town the enemy's magazine blew up, with severe loss to the besiegers. Pike was mortally wounded, and the army thrown into confusion. Recovering, they advanced and took the town. The squadron returned to Sackett's Harbor with a large amount of spoils. Shortly afterwards Sir George Prevost assailed the American post at Sackett's Harbor, but failed to take it. On the same day the Americans captured Fort George, on the Canadian side of the Niagara. In November an expedition was sent against Montreal, which proved unsuccessful. Somewhat later Fort George was abandoned, and Fort Niagara was captured by the British, who burned the neighboring towns and villages, in retribution for the burning of the Canadian town of Newark by the Americans. The failures and unimportant successes here chronicled were relieved by two victorious engagements, the victory of Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, and that of General Harrison on the Thames, which call for more particular mention.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE GUERRIERE.

J. T. HEADLEY.

[At the beginning of the war with England the navy of the United States numbered but nine frigates and a few sloops of war, while Great Britain had a hundred ships of the line, and more than a thousand vessels bearing her flag. Yet, weak as was our navy, it was stronger than the British naval force then in American waters, and there was reason to hope for some successes ere the latter could be reinforced. No time was lost by the ardent commanders of the American ships of war. Among other vessels, the forty-four-gun frigate *Constitution* put to sea, and was soon after chased by a British squadron, from which she escaped with great difficulty. The story of the victorious event which soon followed we select from Headley's "Second War with England."]

On the 28th of July an order was sent from the Secretary of the Navy to Captain Hull, at Boston, to deliver up the *Constitution* to Commodore Bainbridge and take charge of the frigate *Constellation*. But, fortunately for him and the navy, just before this order reached him he had again set sail, and was out on the deep, where the anxieties of the department did not disturb him. Cruising eastward along the coast, he captured ten small prizes near the mouth of the St. Lawrence and burned them. In the middle of the month he recaptured an American merchantman and sent her in, and then stood to the southward. On the 19th he made a strange sail, one of the vessels that a few weeks before had pressed him so hard in the chase. When the *Constitution* had run down to within three miles of him, the Englishman laid his maintop-sail aback, and hung out three flags, to show his willingness to engage. Captain Dacres, the commander, surprised at the daring manner in which the stranger came down, turned to the captain of an American merchantman

whom he had captured a few days before, and asked him what vessel he took that to be. The latter replied, as he handed back the glass to Dacres, that he thought from her sails she was an American. "It cannot be possible," said Dacres, "or he would not stand on so boldly." It was soon evident, whoever the stranger might be, he was bent on mischief. Hull prepared his vessel for action deliberately, and, after putting her under close fighting canvas and sending down her royal yards, ordered the drums to beat to quarters. It was now five o'clock, and, as the *Constitution* bore steadily down towards her antagonist, the crew gave three cheers. The English vessel was well known, for she had at one of her mast-heads a flag proudly flying, with the "*Guerriere*" written in large characters upon it. When the *Constitution* arrived within long gunshot, the *Guerriere* opened her fire, now wearing to bring her broadside to bear, and again to prevent being raked by the American, which slowly but steadily approached. The Englishman kept up a steady fire for nearly an hour, to which the *Constitution* replied with only an occasional gun. The crew at length became excited under this inaction. The officer below had twice come on deck to report that men had been killed standing idly at their guns, and begged permission to fire; but Hull still continued to receive the enemy's broadsides in silence. The *Guerriere*, failing to cripple the *Constitution*, filled and moved off with the wind free, showing that she was willing to receive her and finish the conflict in a yard-arm to yard-arm combat. The *Constitution* then drew slowly ahead, and the moment her bows began to lap the quarters of the *Guerriere* her forward guns opened, and in a few minutes after the welcome orders were received to pour in broadside after broadside as rapidly as possible. When she was fairly abeam, the broadsides were fired

with a rapidity and power that astounded the enemy. As the old ship forged slowly ahead with her greater way, she seemed moving in flame. The mizzen-mast of the enemy soon fell with a crash, while her hull was riddled with shot and her decks slippery with gore. The carnage was so awful that the blood from the wounded and mangled victims, as they were hurried into the cockpit, poured over the ladder as if it had been dashed from a bucket. As Hull passed his antagonist he wheeled short round her bows to prevent a raking fire. But in doing this he came dead into the wind; his sails were taken aback; the vessel stopped; then, getting sternway, the *Guerriere* came up, her bows striking the former abeam. While in this position, the forward guns of the enemy exploded almost against the sides of the *Constitution*, setting the cabin on fire. This would have proved a serious event but for the presence of mind of the fourth lieutenant, Beekman Verplanck Hoffman, who extinguished it. As soon as the vessels got foul, both crews prepared to board. The first lieutenant, Morris, in the midst of a terrific fire of musketry, attempted to lash the ships together, which were thumping and grinding against each other with the heavy sea, but fell, shot through the body. Mr. Alwyn, the master, and Lieutenant Bush, of the marines, mounting the taffrail to leap on the enemy's decks, were both shot down, the latter killed instantly with a bullet through the head. Finding it impossible to board under such a tremendous fire, the sails of the *Constitution* were filled, when the vessels slowly and reluctantly parted. As the *Constitution* rolled away on the heavy swell, the foremast of the *Guerriere* fell back against the mainmast, carrying that down in its descent, leaving the frigate a helpless wreck, "wallowing in the trough of the sea." Hull, seeing that his enemy was now completely in his power, ran off a little

way to secure his own masts and repair his rigging, which was badly cut up. In a short time he returned, and, taking up a position where he could rake the wreck of the *Guerriere* at every discharge, prepared to finish her. Captain Dacres had fought his ship well, and, when every spar in her was down, gallantly nailed the jack to the stump of the mizzen-mast. But further resistance was impossible, and to have gone down with his flag flying, as one of the English journals declared he ought to have done, would have been a foolish and criminal act. A few more broadsides would have carried the brave crew to the bottom, and to allow his vessel to roll idly in the trough of the sea, a mere target for the guns of the American, would neither have added to his fame nor lessened the moral effect of his defeat. He therefore reluctantly struck her flag, and Lieutenant Read was sent on board to take possession. . . .

[On boarding the vessel the crew were found to be in a state of disgusting intoxication, Captain Dacres, on surrendering his ship, having told the men to go below and get some refreshments, which they liberally interpreted as a free permission to drink.]

This vessel, as well as all the English ships, presented another striking contrast to the American. Impressment was so abhorred that British officers were afraid of being shot down by their topmen during an engagement, and hence dared not wear their uniforms, while ours went into action with their epaulettes on, knowing that it added to their security, for every sailor would fight for his commander as he would for a comrade.

Captain Hull kept hovering round his prize during the night; and at two o'clock "Sail ho!" was sent aft by the watch, when the *Constitution* immediately beat to quarters. The weary sailors tumbled up cheerfully at the

summons, the vessel was cleared for action, and there is no doubt that if another *Guerriere* had closed with the *Constitution* she would have been roughly handled, crippled as the latter was from her recent conflict.

After deliberating for an hour, the stranger stood off. In the morning the *Guerriere* was reported to have four feet of water in the hold, and was so cut up that it would be difficult to keep her afloat. The prisoners were, therefore, all removed, and the vessel set on fire. The flames leaped up the broken masts, ran along the bulwarks, and wrapped the noble wreck in a sheet of fire. As the guns became heated, they went off one after another, firing their last salute to the dying ship. At length the fire reached the magazine, when she blew up with a tremendous explosion. A huge column of smoke arose and stood for a long time, as if petrified in the calm atmosphere, and then slowly crumbled to pieces, revealing only a few shattered planks to tell where that proud vessel had sunk. The first English frigate that ever struck its flag to an American ship of war had gone down to the bottom of the ocean, a gloomy omen of England's future. The sea never rolled over a vessel whose fate so startled the world. It disappeared forever, but it left its outline on the deep, never to be effaced till England and America are no more.

The loss of the *Constitution* was seven killed and seven wounded, while that of the *Guerriere* was fifteen killed and sixty-four wounded, a disparity that shows with how much more precision the American had fired. It is impossible, at this period, to give an adequate idea of the excitement this victory produced. In the first place, it was fought three days after the surrender of General Hull, the uncle of the gallant captain. The mortifying, stunning news of the disaster of the Northwestern army met on the seaboard the thundering shout that went up

from a people delirious with delight over this naval victory. From one direction the name of Hull came loaded with execrations, from the other overwhelmed with blessings. But not only was the joy greater, arriving as the news did on the top of disaster, but it took the nation by surprise. An American frigate had fearlessly stood up in single combat on the deep with her proud foe, and, giving gun for gun, torn the crown from the "mistress of the sea." The fact that the Constitution had four guns more and a larger crew could not prevent it from being practically an even-handed fight. The disparity of the crews was of no consequence, for it was an affair of broadsides, while the vast difference in the execution done proved that had the relative weight of metal and the muster-roll been reversed the issue would have been the same. . . .

[This victory was but the beginning of a striking series of naval conquests which filled England with astonishment and dismay. On October 25 the frigate United States met the English frigate Macedonian, and, after dismasting her and cutting her hull to pieces, forced her to lower her flag. About the same time the Wasp met the brig Frolic, of nearly her own strength, and captured her after a desperate fight. On boarding the Frolic it was found that the terrible "hulling" fire of the Americans had killed and wounded nearly one hundred of her crew. On October 29 the Constitution, now under Commodore Bainbridge, met the frigate Java, and forced her to lower her flag in a two hours' fight. In the succeeding January the Hornet met the English brig-of-war Peacock, and sent her to the bottom after a sharp battle.]

The thrill of exultation that passed over the land at the announcement of the first naval victory was alloyed by the reflection that it was but an isolated instance, and hence could hardly justify a belief in our naval superiority. But as frigate after frigate and ship after ship struck, all doubt vanished, and the nation was intoxicated with delight. The successive disasters that befell our land-forces

along the Canada line could not check the outburst of enthusiasm on every side. As the news of one victory succeeding another was borne along the great channels of communication, long shouts of triumph rolled after it, and the navy, from being unknown and uncared for, rose at once to be the bulwark and pride of the nation. All faces were turned to the ocean to catch the first echo of those resistless broadsides that proudly asserted and made good the claim to "free trade and sailors' rights." Where we had been insulted and wronged the most, there we were chastising the offender with blows that astounded the world. If the American government had been amazed at the failure of its deep-laid schemes against Canada, it was no less so at the unexpected triumphs at sea. Saved from the deepest condemnation by the navy, which it had neglected, forced to fall back on its very blunders for encouragement, it could say, with Hamlet,—

"Let us know,
Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well
When our deep plots do pall."

But our astonishment at these successive and brilliant victories could scarcely exceed that of the Old World. The British navy had been so long accustomed to victory that a single-handed contest of any English frigate with that of any other nation had ceased to be a matter of solicitude to her. The maritime nations of Europe had, one after another, yielded to her sway, till her flag in every sea on the globe extorted the respect and fear which the declaration "I am a Roman citizen" did in the proudest days of the Empire. Her invincibility on the ocean was a foregone conclusion. The victories of Napoleon stopped with the shore: even his "star" paled on the deep. His extraordinary efforts and energies could not tear from the

British navy the proud title it had worn so long. His fleets, one after another, had gone down before the might of British broadsides, and the sublime sea-fights of Aboukir and Trafalgar were only corroborations of what had long been established. If this was the common feeling of the Continent, it is no wonder that "the English were stunned as by the shock of an earthquake." The first victory surprised them, but did not disturb their confidence. They began to discuss the causes of the unlooked-for event with becoming dignity, but before the argument was concluded another and another defeat came like successive thunder-claps, till discussion gave way to alarm. The thoughtful men of England were too wise to pretend that disasters occurring in such numbers and wonderful regularity could be the result of accident, and feared they beheld the little black cloud which the prophet saw rising over the sea, portending an approaching storm. If in so short a time a maritime force of only a few frigates and sloops of war could strike such deadly blows and destroy the prestige of English invincibility, what could not be done when the navy should approximate her own in strength! . . .

The war-vessels at length grew timorous, and lost all their desire to meet an American ship of equal rank. It was declared that our frigates were built like seventy-fours, and therefore English frigates were justified in declining a battle when offered. The awful havoc made by our fire affected the seamen also, and whenever they saw the stars and stripes flaunting from the mast-head of an approaching vessel they felt that no ordinary battle was before them. English crews had never been so cut up since the existence of her navy. In the terrific battle of the Nile, Nelson lost less than three out of one hundred, and in his attack on Copenhagen, less than four out of

every hundred. In Admiral Duncan's famous action off Camperdown, the proportion was about the same as that of the Nile. In 1793 the French navy was in its glory, and the victories obtained over its single ships by English vessels were considered unparalleled. Yet in fourteen single engagements, considered the most remarkable, and in which the ships, with one exception, ranged from thirty-six guns to fifty-two, the average of killed and wounded was only seventeen per ship, while in four encounters with American vessels, the *Constitution*, *United States*, and *Wasp*, the average was a hundred and eleven to each vessel.

[This remarkable difference is ascribed to the fact that the Americans had devised an improvement in gunnery which was as yet unknown to the English. Their guns were sighted, and could be fired with remarkable accuracy of aim. "While we can fire cannon with as sure an aim as musketry, or almost rifles, striking twice out of every three shots, they must fire at random, without sight of their object or regard to the undulations of the sea, shooting over our heads, seldom hulling us or even hitting our decks." Such being the case, the striking success of the Americans in these encounters is in great measure accounted for. But, whatever the cause, the "mistress of the seas" felt herself obliged to yield the crown of victory to an antagonist whom she had long affected to despise, while Europe beheld with astonishment the victorious career of the feeble navy of the New World.]

PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

[The successes gained by the Americans in their naval combats on the ocean were succeeded by similar successes on the lakes, where two of the most notable victories of the whole war were won. These conflicts took place on the three lakes Erie, Ontario, and Champlain, on each of which the combatants had built fleets. On Lake Ontario,

though there were several minor encounters, no important contest took place, while the battle of Lake Champlain occurred in the last year of the war. We shall here, therefore, confine our attention to the battle of Lake Erie, which has attained a well-earned celebrity.

At the beginning of the war there was on Lake Erie an English fleet of six vessels, while the only armed vessel possessed by the Americans was lost at the fall of Detroit. This vessel was soon after retaken by surprise, and burned, while the *Caledonia*, a small brig, was captured. In the winter of 1812 Captain Oliver Hazard Perry arrived and took command of the naval forces on Lake Erie. With great energy he at once set himself to work to create a fleet. He purchased three schooners and a sloop, and built three other schooners, which were added to the captured brig *Caledonia*. Two twenty-gun brigs were also placed under construction in the harbor of Erie, where, in the midsummer of 1813, the American was blockaded by the English fleet, under Captain Barclay.

Taking advantage of the temporary withdrawal of Barclay's fleet, and having completed his brigs, Perry managed with difficulty to get them over the bar at the entrance to the harbor, and to put out into the lake. His foes, who had returned, at once withdrew into port. On the 10th of September the two hostile fleets came within sight of each other, want of provisions having compelled Barclay to leave the shelter of his harbor. Perry's squadron now consisted of nine vessels, the twenty-gun brigs *Lawrence* and *Niagara*, the three-gun brig *Caledonia*, the schooners *Ariel*, *Scorpion*, *Somers*, *Porcupine*, and *Tigress*, and the sloop *Trippe*, with a crew fit for duty of about four hundred and sixteen men. The British fleet embraced the ships *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*, respectively of twenty and seventeen guns, the brig *Hunter*, the schooners *Lady Prevost* and *Chippeway*, and the sloop *Little Belt*, with a crew of about four hundred and forty men. The Americans were superior in weight of metal, and nearly equal in men. The description of the battle that ensued we select from "*The Naval War of 1812*," by Theodore Roosevelt, a work which, while lacking vivacity of style, has the merit of greater accuracy and impartiality than most works on the subject.]

As, amid light and rather baffling winds, the American squadron approached the enemy, Perry's straggling line formed an angle of about fifteen degrees with the more

compact one of his foes. At 11.45 the *Detroit* opened the action by a shot from her long twenty-four, which fell short; at 11.50 she fired a second which went crashing through the *Lawrence*, and was replied to by the *Scorpion's* long thirty-two. At 11.55 the *Lawrence*, having shifted her port bow-chaser, opened with both the long twelves, and at meridian began with her carronades; but the shot from the latter all fell short. At the same time the action became general on both sides, though the rearmost American vessels were almost beyond the range of their own guns, and quite out of range of the guns of their antagonists. Meanwhile, the *Lawrence* was already suffering considerably as she bore down on the enemy. . . . By 12.20 the *Lawrence* had worked down to close quarters, and at 12.30 the action was going on with great fury between her and her antagonists, within canister range. The raw and inexperienced American crews committed the same fault the British so often fell into on the ocean, and overloaded their carronades. In consequence, that of the *Scorpion* upset down the hatchway in the middle of the action, and the sides of the *Detroit* were dotted with marks from shot that did not penetrate. One of the *Ariel's* long twelves also burst. Barclay fought the *Detroit* exceedingly well, her guns being most excellently aimed, though they actually had to be discharged by flashing pistols at the touch-holes, so deficient was the ship's equipment. Meanwhile, the *Caledonia* went down too, but the *Niagara* was wretchedly handled, Elliot keeping at a distance which prevented the use either of his own carronades or of those of the *Queen Charlotte*, his antagonist. . . . The *Niagara*, the most efficient and best-manned of the American vessels, was thus almost kept out of the action by her captain's misconduct. . . .

The fighting at the head of the line was fierce and

bloody to an extraordinary degree. The Scorpion, Ariel, Lawrence, and Caledonia, all of them handled with the most determined courage, were opposed to the Chippeway, Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Hunter, which were fought to the full as bravely. At such close quarters the two sides engaged on about equal terms, the Americans being superior in weight of metal and inferior in number of men. But the Lawrence had received such damage in working down as to make the odds against Perry. On each side almost the whole fire was directed at the opposing large vessel or vessels: in consequence the Queen Charlotte was almost disabled, and the Detroit was also frightfully shattered, especially by the raking fire of the gunboats, her first lieutenant, Mr. Garland, being mortally wounded, and Captain Barclay so severely injured that he was obliged to quit the deck, leaving his ship in the command of Lieutenant George Inglis. But on board the Lawrence matters had gone even worse, the combined fire of her adversaries having made the grimmiest carnage on her decks. Of the one hundred and three men who were fit for duty when she began the action, eighty-three, or over four-fifths, were killed or wounded. The vessel was shallow, and the ward-room, used as a cockpit, to which the wounded were taken, was mostly above water, and the shot came through it continually, killing and wounding many men under the hands of the surgeon.

The first lieutenant, Yarnall, was three times wounded, but kept to the deck through all; the only other lieutenant on board, Brooks, of the marines, was mortally wounded. Every brace and bowline was shot away, and the brig almost completely dismantled; her hull was shattered to pieces, many shot going completely through it, and the guns on the engaged side were by degrees all dismounted. Perry kept up the fight with splendid courage. As the

crew fell one by one, the commodore called down through the skylight for one of the surgeon's assistants; and this call was repeated and obeyed till none was left; then he asked, "Can any of the wounded pull a rope?" and three or four of them crawled up on deck to lend a feeble hand in placing the last guns. Perry himself fired the last effective heavy gun, assisted only by the purser and chaplain. A man who did not possess his indomitable spirit would then have struck. Instead, however, although failing in the attack so far, Perry merely determined to win by new methods, and remodelled the line accordingly.

Mr. Turner, in the *Caledonia*, when ordered to close, had put his helm up, run down on the opposing line, and engaged at very short range, though the brig was absolutely without quarters. The *Niagara* had thus become the next in line astern of the *Lawrence*, and the sloop *Trippe*, having passed the three schooners in front of her, was next ahead. The *Niagara* now, having a breeze, steered for the head of Barclay's line, passing over a quarter of a mile to windward of the *Lawrence*, on her port beam. She was almost uninjured, having so far taken very little part in the combat, and to her Perry shifted his flag. Leaping into a row-boat, with his brother and four seamen, he rowed to the fresh brig, where he arrived at 2.30, and at once sent Elliot astern to hurry up the three schooners. The *Trippe* was now very near the *Caledonia*. The *Lawrence*, having but fourteen sound men left, struck her colors, but could not be taken possession of before the action recommenced. She drifted astern, the *Caledonia* passing between her and her foes. At 2.45, the schooners having closed up, Perry, in his fresh vessel, bore up to break Barclay's line.

The British ships had fought themselves to a stand-still. The *Lady Prevost* was crippled and sagged to leeward,

though ahead of the others. The Detroit and Queen Charlotte were so disabled that they could not effectually oppose fresh antagonists. There could thus be but little resistance to Perry, as the Niagara bore down and broke the British line, firing her port guns into the Chippeway, Little Belt, and Lady Prevost, and the starboard ones into the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Hunter, raking on both sides. Too disabled to tack, the Detroit and Charlotte tried to wear, the latter running up to leeward of the former; and, both vessels having every brace and almost every stay shot away, they fell foul. The Niagara luffed athwart their bows, within half pistol-shot, keeping up a terrific discharge of great guns and musketry, while on the other side the British vessels were raked by the Caledonia and the schooners so closely that some of their grape-shot, passing over the foe, rattled through Perry's spars. Nothing further could be done, and Barclay's flag was struck at 3 P.M., after three and a quarter hours' most gallant and desperate fighting. The Chippeway and Little Belt tried to escape, but were overtaken and brought to respectively by the Trippe and Scorpion, the commander of the latter, Mr. Stephen Champlin, firing the last, as he had the first, shot of the battle. "Captain Perry has behaved in the most humane and attentive manner, not only to myself and officers, but to all the wounded," writes Captain Barclay.

[The losses in this fierce engagement were one hundred and twenty-three on the American side, and one hundred and thirty-five on the British, the great bulk of the loss falling on the Lawrence, Detroit, and Queen Charlotte. The daring and successful movement by which Perry transferred his flag from one vessel to the other during the heat of the battle, traversing the lake in an open boat at the utmost risk of life, is not more celebrated than his laconic despatch to General Harrison after the conflict, "We have met the enemy, and they are ours," a battle-bulletin which vies with Cæsar's famous "*Veni, vidi, vici.*"

The victory of Lake Erie was most important, both in its material results and in its moral effect. It gave us complete command of all the upper lakes, prevented any fears of invasion from that quarter, increased our prestige with the foe and our confidence in ourselves, and insured the conquest of Upper Canada: in all these respects its importance has not been overrated. But the "glory" acquired by it most certainly *has* been estimated at more than its worth. Most Americans, even the well educated, if asked which was the most glorious victory of the war, would point to this battle. Captain Perry's name is more widely known than that of any other commander. Every school-boy reads about *him*, if of no other sea-captain; yet he certainly stands on a lower grade than either Hull or Macdonough, and not a bit higher than a dozen others. On Lake Erie our seamen displayed great courage and skill; but so did their antagonists. The simple truth is that, when on both sides the officers and men were equally brave and skilful, the side which possessed the superiority in force in the proportion of three to two could not well help winning. The courage with which the Lawrence was defended has hardly ever been surpassed, and may fairly be called heroic; but equal praise belongs to the men on board the Detroit, who had to discharge the great guns by flashing pistols at the touch holes, and yet made such a terribly effective defence. Courage is only one of the elements which go to make up the character of a first-class commander; something more than bravery is needed before a leader can be really called great. . . .

The important fact is that though we had nine guns less, yet, at a broadside, they threw half as much metal again as those of our antagonist. With such odds in our favor it would have been a disgrace to have been beaten. The water was too smooth for our two brigs to show at

their best; but this very smoothness rendered our gun-boats more formidable than any of the British vessels, and the British testimony is unanimous that it was to them the defeat was primarily due. The American fleet came into action in worse form than the hostile squadron, the ships straggling badly, either owing to Perry having formed his line badly, or else to his having failed to train the subordinate commanders how to keep their places. . . . The chief merit of the American commander and his followers was indomitable courage, and determination not to be beaten. This is no slight merit; but it may well be doubted if it would have insured victory had Barclay's force been as strong as Perry's. Perry made a headlong attack; his superior force, whether through his fault or his misfortune can hardly be said, being brought into action in such a manner that the head of the line was crushed by the inferior force opposed. Being literally hammered out of his own ship, Perry brought up its powerful twin-sister, and the already shattered hostile squadron was crushed by sheer weight. The manœuvres which marked the close of the battle, and which insured the capture of all the opposing ships, were unquestionably very fine. . . .

Captain Perry showed indomitable pluck and readiness to adapt himself to circumstances; but his claim to fame rests much less on his actual victory than on the way in which he prepared the fleet that was to win it. Here his energy and activity deserve all praise, not only for his success in collecting sailors and vessels and in building the two brigs, but above all for the manner in which he succeeded in getting them out on the lake. On *that* occasion he certainly outgeneralled Barclay; indeed, the latter committed an error that the skill and address he subsequently showed could not retrieve. But it will always be a source

of surprise that the American public should have so glorified Perry's victory over an inferior foe, and have paid comparatively little attention to Macdonough's victory, which really was won against decided odds in ships, men, and metal.

There are always men who consider it unpatriotic to tell the truth, if the truth is not very flattering; but, aside from the morality of the case, we never can learn how to produce a certain effect unless we rightly know what the causes were that produced a similar effect in times past. Lake Erie teaches us the advantage of having the odds on our side; Lake Champlain, that, even if they are not, skill can still counteract them. It is amusing to read some of the pamphlets written "in reply" to Cooper's account of this battle, the writers apparently regarding him as a kind of traitor for hinting that the victory was not "Nelsonic," "unsurpassed," etc. The arguments are stereotyped: Perry had nine fewer guns, and also fewer men, than the foe. The last point is the only one respecting which there is any doubt. Taking sick and well together, the Americans unquestionably had the greatest number in crew; but a quarter of them were sick. Even deducting these, they were still, in all probability, more numerous than their foes. . . . Yet many a much-vaunted victory, both on sea and land, has reflected less credit on the victor than the battle of Lake Erie did on the Americans. And it must always be remembered that a victory, honorably won, if even over a weaker foe, *does* reflect credit on the nation by whom it is gained. . . . It is greatly to our credit that we had been enterprising enough to fit out such an effective little flotilla on Lake Erie; and for this Perry deserves the highest praise.*

* Some of my countrymen will consider this but scant approbation, to which the answer must be that a history is not a panegyric.

THE BATTLE OF THE THAMES.

CHARLES J. INGERSOLL.

[The naval victory on Lake Erie was quickly followed by an equally decisive one on the land. General Harrison, with an army of seven thousand men, was at that time on the southern shore of the lake, and immediately after Perry's victory embarked on his fleet, and was conveyed to the vicinity of Malden, the central point of the British movements in the West. The disaster to their fleet seems to have demoralized the British troops, or at least to have frightened their commander, General Proctor, who displayed a cowardice equal to that of Hull. He hastily retreated from Malden, after destroying the navy-yard and barracks. Tecumseh, the Indian chief, who was with him, strongly remonstrated against this flight, as unwise and unmilitary, but without success. Everything was burned that could not be carried off, and the retreat of the army was the precipitate flight of a panic-struck host, being conducted so rapidly that no effort was made to impede pursuit by burning bridges and obstructing roads. The story of the succeeding events we select from the "Historical Sketch of the Second War with Great Britain," by Charles J. Ingersoll, a member of Congress at that period.]

GENERAL HARRISON almost despaired of overtaking the fugitives. On the 27th September, 1813, he wrote to the Secretary of War that he would pursue them next day, but that there was no probability of overtaking them. But the Kentuckians were resolved on the revenge of, at any rate, a battle with their murderers at Raisin. . . . They were not to be disappointed by any irresolution or deterred by any obstacle. Harrison, therefore, with Commodore Perry, General Cass, General Green Clay, and an army eager for action, pushed forward without delay or hesitation, by forced marches, over rivers, morasses, through broken countries, attended by some boats and water-craft; continually finding Proctor's stores, provisions, ammuni-

tion, and arms, either deserted by the way, or so weakly guarded, by small detachments of the enemy, as to offer no resistance. Seldom was flight more mismanaged than that of the English. . . . The whole way from Malden to the Thames betrayed their extreme perturbation. . . .

At length, on the morning of the 5th October, 1813, near an Indian settlement called the Moravian towns, on the river Thames, Harrison came up with the English, eight hundred regular troops under Major-General Proctor, and twelve hundred Indians headed by Tecumseh. By this time Colonel Johnson's regiment of twelve hundred mounted men, armed with guns, without either pistols or sabres, had joined General Harrison, having, by forced marches, followed from the moment they got his orders to do so. . . .

The night before the battle of the Thames, Walk-in-the-water, with sixty followers, deserted Proctor, and threw themselves in General Harrison's arms. Large quantities of English stores fell into our possession continually. Late at night Proctor and Tecumseh descended the river clandestinely, and made a reconnoissance, with a view to attack Harrison, which was Tecumseh's desire, and probably Proctor's best plan for escape; but the English general did not choose to risk what would have been not only less dishonorable, but much safer, than the battle he was forced to accept.

When all General Harrison's dispositions for attack, on the 5th of October, 1813, had been made, and the army was advancing against the enemy, well posted among woods, marshes, and streams, Colonel Wood, who had approached close to the English,—concealed to reconnoitre,—returned to General Harrison and told him that Proctor's men were drawn up in open lines; that is, each man somewhat separated from the next, instead of standing close

together, as is the strongest and safest method. With considerable felicity of prompt adaptation to circumstances, Harrison instantly changed his order of attack. He inquired of Colonel Johnson if his horsemen could charge infantry. "Certainly," said the colonel. His men had been trained and practised to charge in the woods, just as they were to do. General Harrison then gave Colonel Johnson the order to charge; and in an instant that battalion of the mounted regiment which Colonel Richard Johnson committed to his brother, the lieutenant-colonel, James, charged through and through the English infantry, who then threw down their arms and cried for quarters in a much more craven mood than had yet been betrayed in that war. Their commander, after demoralizing them by guilt and encumbering them with plunder, disheartened them by pusillanimous behavior when attacked. Colonel Richard Johnson's order to charge was discretionary, to charge the enemy as they stood, infantry, artillery, and some horse. Finding that the whole of his regiment could hardly get at them between the river and the swamp where they were drawn up, while by passing the swamp he might reach the Indians there awaiting our onset, Colonel Johnson, in the absence of General Harrison, exercised a judicious discretion to consign the first battalion of his regiment to his brother for the English, while he himself, with the other battalion, should attack the Indians. The English infantry delivered some shots as Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnson approached, and for a moment disconcerted some of the first horses, although drilled to that mode of charge. But, taking a couple of volleys as they advanced, they easily recovered composure, rushed on the infantry, pierced, broke, then wheeled upon them, poured in a destructive fire on their rear, and brought them to instantaneous submission, without much loss on either side. . . .

Proctor, with a small escort of dragoons and mounted Indians, made his escape so quickly and rapidly that no effort could overtake him. He was pursued for many miles, abandoned his carriage and sword, lost all his plunder and papers, . . . and found his way, at last, through many tribulations, to Burlington Heights, there to be publicly reprimanded and disgraced for cowardice and avarice, by the Governor-General of Canada. The disaster of the British army, said an English historian, was not palliated by those precautions and that presence of mind which even in defeat reflect lustre on a commander. The bridges and roads in rear of the retreating army were left entire, while its progress was retarded with a useless and cumbersome load of baggage. . . .

Tecumseh, with his red braves, made a very different stand against Colonel Richard Johnson. Unlike the precipitate firing of the British infantry, these gallant savages reserved theirs till close pressed, then delivered volleys with deadly aim and effect. Embarrassed by the swamp, Colonel Johnson found it necessary to dismount his men. As soon as Governor Shelby heard the musketry from his station, the old soldier, eager for action, led up his men. After some time of close, sharp, and mutually destructive fighting, the Indians were forced to give way, but not without sacrificing three times as many lives as the English, and leaving infinitely fewer prisoners as trophies to their conquerors. Active and conspicuous, invincible and exemplary, the valiant Tecumseh fought till he fell pierced with several balls and died a hero's death. The Indian chief on whom the savage command devolved deplored to General Harrison, after the battle, the treacherous cowardice of their father, General Proctor, by which term of veneration he still mentioned that recreant superior. . . .

Colonel Richard Johnson's task in conflict with Tecumseh was much longer, bloodier, and more difficult, though no bolder, than his brother's vanquishing the English. Whether with his own hand he killed the Indian chieftain is among the disputed occurrences of a conflict in which his conduct requires no additional celebrity. He was repeatedly shot, and desperately wounded. . . .

The battle of the Thames was our first regular and considerable victory. I have not attempted to describe its professional, or indeed particular, features; that having been done by so many others. Truth, always difficult of attainment, is hardly a rudiment of narration when involving personal animosities and vanities, exacerbated by national prejudices. In fact, no one person witnesses much of most battles, but must be content with various reports from others. Hence the English proverb that falsehood glares on every French bulletin. . . . The result of the Northwestern campaign was to relieve great regions from English power and Indian devastation.

[Ingersoll proceeds to say, in justice to English soldiers, "Thousands of hard-fought fields in every quarter and with every people of the world, -by land and sea, attest the stubborn valor of British troops. No history can deny their characteristic courage and fortitude. But English murderers and thieves became cowards in Canada; hard words, but true. To save themselves from retaliation, and their ill-got plunder from recapture, they laid down their arms to an inferior force of raw troops, while their commander fled in the first moment of encounter."

During the period of the events above related, an Indian war was taking place in the South which was attended with the ordinary barbarities of such outbreaks. Tecumseh, the bitter foe of the Americans and the head of the great Indian confederacy of the North, had used his influence to stir up the Southern tribes to war. His efforts proved successful with the Creeks, who took up the hatchet and made a sudden assault upon the settlements. Fort Mimms, in Alabama, in which many families of settlers had collected for safety, was taken by

surprise, and its inmates, numbering nearly three hundred men, women, and children, were massacred with the usual cruelty of the Indians. General Andrew Jackson, the commander of the Tennessee militia, immediately marched into the Creek country, and a series of battles commenced which ended in the complete subjection of the savages. General Coffee, with nine hundred men, surrounded a body of Indians at Tallusahatchee, and killed about two hundred, not a warrior escaping. The battles of Talladega, Autosse, Emucfai, and others followed, with defeat to the Indians, though with much loss to the Americans. The last fight took place at the Horse-Shoe Bend of the Tallapoosa. Here the Indian fort was carried by assault, and the Indians, seeing no way of escape, continued to fight until nearly all were slain. This broke the power of the Creeks, and they soon after submitted to the whites.]

THE CHARGE AT LUNDY'S LANE.

H. M. BRACKENRIDGE.

[The war, during its first two years, was confined, as we have seen, to the Canada frontier and to naval conflicts. In the latter the Americans had been remarkably successful. In the former the successes and failures were somewhat evenly balanced. Each side had invaded the territory of the other to some small distance, but at the opening of the campaign of 1814 the antagonists stood facing each other on their respective borders in much the same positions as at the opening of the war. There were important differences in the military situation of both the combatants, however, and the year 1814 was destined to be one of bolder movements of invasion and more effective fighting. The fall of Napoleon in Europe had released the armies and fleets of England and permitted a more energetic prosecution of the war in America. On the other hand, the militia of America had been converted into regulars by two years' experience in fighting, while the "plentiful lack" of the necessities of war at the beginning of the conflict had been overcome sufficiently to put the American armies in efficient fighting condition.]

An act was passed increasing the regular army to sixty-six thousand men. At the same time propositions for peace were listened to, and commissioners appointed, consisting of John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and, afterwards, Albert Gallatin. These peace sessions were held at Gottenburg, the terms demanded by America being a discontinuance of search and impressment, while the offer was made to exclude British seamen from American vessels and to surrender deserters.

Meanwhile, the war went on with new vigor. In the South Jackson continued the conflict with the Creeks, until it was brought to a conclusion by his signal victory at Horse-Shoe Bend early in the year. In the North an effort was made to retake Mackinaw, which proved a failure. Wilkinson made preparations for a reinvasion of Canada, but suffered himself to be so easily repulsed that he was tried for want of generalship before a court-martial. He was acquitted by the court, but condemned by public opinion.

The active work of the Northern armies was performed on the line of the Niagara River, where the hardest fighting of the whole war took place. An invasion of Canada was still projected, as a preliminary to which General Brown, in command of that division of the army, began operations in the section of country between Lakes Erie and Ontario. On the evening of July 2 he crossed the Niagara at Buffalo, and invested Fort Erie, which quickly surrendered. Advancing from this point, he encountered the British force under General Riall at Chippewa Creek.

The American advance fell behind Street's Creek, where they were joined by the main body on the morning of the 5th. While the brigade under General Scott was engaged in a dress-parade, the advance of the British came up, and opened fire from behind the screen of trees that fringed the creek. Scott's men were already on the bridge, and as other troops were hurried up Riall's force was attacked with energy and effect. A furious battle ensued. The British line becoming somewhat separated, the exposed flank was attacked, and the gap widened. The line gave way before this assault, and was driven back in rout, Riall retreating with a part of his force to Burlington Heights, and sending the remainder to the forts at the mouth of the Niagara. Brown now determined to move upon Kingston by the lake shore, driving back the foe, and reducing the forts. But, failing to gain the expected co-operation from the fleet on the lake, and learning that Riall had advanced to Queenstown and had been

reinforced by General Drummond from York, he felt compelled to give up his project of invasion and withdraw from his advanced position to Chippewa. General Winfield Scott was sent forward with a corps of observation, and found himself suddenly confronted by the whole British force, drawn up at Lundy's Lane, near Niagara Falls. The fiercest land-battle of the war ensued, a description of which we select from Brackenridge's "*History of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain.*"

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DRUMMOND, mortified that his veteran troops should have been beaten by what he considered raw Americans, was anxious for an opportunity of retrieving his credit. He had collected every regiment from Burlington and York, and, the lake being free, had been able to transport troops from Fort George, Kingston, and even Prescott. General Riall took post at Queenstown immediately after it was abandoned by the Americans in their retreat to Chippewa; thence he threw a strong detachment across the Niagara to Lewistown, to threaten the town of Schlosser, which contained the supplies of General Brown, and also his sick and wounded, and at the same time despatched a party in advance of him on the Niagara road. With the view of drawing off the enemy from his attempt on the village across the river, General Brown, having no means of transporting troops to its defence, directed General Scott to move towards Queenstown with his brigade, seven hundred strong, together with Towson's artillery and one troop of dragoons and mounted men. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th, General Scott led his brigade from the camp, and, after proceeding along the Niagara about two miles and a half from the Chippewa, and within a short distance of the cataracts, discovered General Riall on an eminence near Lundy's Lane, a position of great strength, where he had planted a battery of nine pieces of artillery, two of which were brass twenty-four-pounders. On reaching a

narrow strip of woods which intervened between the American and the British line, Captains Harris and Pentland, whose companies formed a part of the advance, and were first fired on, gallantly engaged the enemy. The latter now retreated, for the purpose of drawing the American column to the post at Lundy's Lane. General Scott resolutely pressed forward, after despatching Major Jones to the commander-in-chief with intelligence that he had come up with the enemy. He had no sooner cleared the wood, and formed in line on a plain finely adapted to military manœuvres, than a tremendous cannonade commenced from the enemy's battery, situated on their right, which was returned by Captain Towson, whose artillery were posted opposite and on the left of the American line, but without being able to bring his pieces to bear on the eminence. The action was continued for an hour, against a force three times that of the American brigade. The Eleventh and Twenty-Second Regiments having expended their ammunition, Colonel Brady and Lieutenant Colonel McNeill being both severely wounded, and nearly all the other officers either killed or wounded, they were withdrawn from action. Lieutenant Crawford, Lieutenant Sawyer, and a few other officers of those regiments attached themselves to the Ninth, in such stations as were assigned them. This regiment, under its gallant leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth, was now obliged to bear the whole brunt of the action. Orders had been given him to advance and charge on the height, and with the Eleventh and Twenty-Second Regiments to break the enemy's line; but, on information being communicated to General Scott of the shattered condition of the latter, the order was countermanded. Colonel Jesup, at the commencement of the action, had been detached, with the Twenty-Fifth Regiment, to attack the left of the enemy's line.

The British now pressed forward on the Ninth Regiment, which with wonderful firmness withstood the attack of their overwhelming numbers. Being reduced at length to not more than one-half, and being compelled at every moment to resist fresh lines of the British, Colonel Leavenworth despatched a messenger to General Scott to communicate its condition. The general rode up in person, roused the flagging spirits of the brave men with the pleasing intelligence that reinforcements were expected every moment, and besought them to hold their ground. Lieutenant Riddle, already well known as a reconnoitring officer, was the first to come to their assistance, having been drawn to the place by the sound of the cannon while on a scouring expedition in the neighboring country. The same circumstance advised General Brown of the commencement of the action, and induced him to proceed rapidly to the scene, after giving orders to General Ripley to follow with the Second Brigade. He was already on his way when he met Major Jones, and, influenced by his communication, he despatched him to bring up General Porter's volunteers, together with the artillery.

The situation of Scott's brigade was every moment becoming more critical. Misled by the obstinacy of their resistance, General Riall overrated their force, and despatched a messenger to General Drummond, at Fort George, for reinforcements, notwithstanding that the number engaged on his side, thus far, had been more than double that of the Americans. During the period that both armies were waiting for reinforcements, a voluntary cessation from combat ensued; and for a time no sound broke upon the stillness of the night but the groans of the wounded, mingling with the distant thunder of the cataract of the Niagara. The silence was once more interrupted, and the engagement renewed with augmented

vigor, on the arrival of General Ripley's brigade, Major Hindman's artillery, and General Porter's volunteers, and at the same time of Lieutenant-General Drummond with reinforcements to the British. The artillery were united to Towson's detachment, and soon came into action; Porter's brigade was deployed on the left, and Ripley's formed on the skirts of the wood, to the right of Scott's brigade. General Drummond took the command in person of the front line of the enemy with his fresh troops.

In the mean time, Colonel Jesup, who, as before mentioned, had been ordered, at the commencement of the action, to take post on the right, had succeeded during the engagement, after a gallant contest, in turning the left flank of the enemy. Taking advantage of the darkness of the night, and the carelessness of the enemy in omitting to place a proper guard across a road on his left, he threw his regiment in the rear of their reserve, and, surprising one detachment after another, made prisoners of so many of their officers and men that his progress was greatly impeded by it. The laws of war would have justified him in putting them to death; "but the laurel, in his opinion, was most glorious when entwined by the hand of mercy," and he generously spared them. One of his officers, Captain Ketchum, who had already distinguished himself at the battle of Chippewa, had the good fortune to make a prisoner of General Riall, who on the arrival of General Drummond had been assigned to the command of the reserve, and also of Captain Loring, the aide of General Drummond. The latter was a most fortunate circumstance, as it prevented the concentration of the British forces contemplated by that officer, before the Americans were prepared for his reception. After hastily disposing of his prisoners, Colonel Jesup felt his way

through the darkness to the place where the hottest fire was kept up on the brigade to which he belonged, and, drawing up his regiment behind a fence, on one side of the Queenstown road, but in the rear of a party of British infantry posted on the opposite side of the same road, he surprised them by a fire so destructive that they instantly broke and fled. "The major," said General Brown, "showed himself to his own army in a blaze of fire." He received the applause of the general, and was ordered to form on the right of the Second Brigade.

General Ripley, seeing the impracticability of operating upon the enemy from the place at which he had been ordered to post his brigade, or of advancing from it in line through a thick wood in the impenetrable darkness of the night, determined, with that rapid decision which characterizes the real commander, to adopt the only measure by which he saw a hope of saving the First Brigade from destruction, or of ultimately achieving the victory, and which, when made known to the commander-in-chief, was instantly sanctioned. The eminence occupied by the enemy's artillery was a key to the position. Addressing himself to Colonel Miller, the same who had distinguished himself at Magagua, he inquired whether he could storm the battery at the head of the Twenty-First Regiment, while he would himself support him with the younger regiment, the Twenty-Third. To this the wary but intrepid veteran replied, in unaffected phrase, "*I will try, sir*,"—words which were afterwards worn on the buttons of his regiment,—and immediately prepared for the arduous effort, by placing himself directly in front of the hill. The Twenty-Third was formed in close column, by its commander, Major McFarland; and the First Regiment, under Colonel Nicholas, which had that day arrived from a long and fatiguing march, was left to keep the infantry

in check. The two regiments moved on to one of the most perilous charges ever attempted, the whole of the artillery, supported by the fire of a powerful line of infantry, pouring upon them as they advanced. The Twenty-First moved on steadily to its purpose: the Twenty-Third faltered on receiving the deadly fire of the enemy, but was soon rallied by the personal exertions of General Ripley. When within a hundred yards of the summit, they received another dreadful discharge, by which Major McFarland was killed, and the command of his regiment devolved on Major Brooks. To the amazement of the British, the intrepid Miller firmly advanced until within a few paces of their cannon, when he impetuously charged upon the artilleries, and, after a short but desperate resistance, carried the whole battery, and formed his line in its rear, upon the ground previously occupied by the British infantry. In carrying the largest pieces, the Twenty-First suffered severely: Lieutenant Cilley, after an unexampled effort, fell wounded by the side of the piece which he took; and there were few of the officers of this regiment who were not either killed or wounded. By the united efforts of these two regiments, and the bringing into line of the First, the fate of this bold assault was determined: the British infantry were in a short time driven down the eminence, out of the reach of musketry, and their own cannon turned upon them. This admirable effort completely changed the nature of the battle: every subsequent movement was directed to this point, as upon the ability to maintain it the result of the conflict entirely depended. Major Hindman was now ordered to bring up his corps, including Captain Towson's detachment, and post himself, with his own and the captured cannon, to the right of Ripley's brigade, and between it and the Twenty-Fifth, Jesup's regiment, while

the volunteers of General Porter retained their position on the left of Scott's brigade.

Stung with rage and mortification at this most extraordinary and successful exploit of the Americans, General Drummond, the British commander, now considered it absolutely essential to the credit of the British army, and to avoid insupportable disgrace, that the cannon and the eminence on which they were captured should be retaken. Having been greatly reinforced, he advanced upon Ripley with a heavy and extended line, outflanking him on both extremes. The Americans stood silently awaiting his approach, which could only be discovered by the sound attending it, reserving their fire, in obedience to orders, until it could be effective and deadly. The whole division of the British now marched at a brisk step until within twenty paces of the summit of the height, when it poured in a rapid fire and prepared to rush forward with the bayonet. The American line, being directed by the fire of the enemy, returned it with deadly effect. The enemy were thereby thrown into momentary confusion, but, being rallied, returned furiously to the attack. A most tremendous conflict ensued, which for twenty minutes continued with violence indescribable. The British line was at last compelled to yield, and to retire down the hill. In this struggle General Porter's volunteers emulated the conduct of the regulars. The gallant Major Wood, of the Pennsylvania corps, and Colonel Dobbin, of the New York, gave examples of unshaken intrepidity.

It was not supposed, however, that this would be the last effort of the British general. General Ripley, therefore, had the wounded transported to the rear, and instantly restored his line to order. General Scott's shattered brigade, having been consolidated into one battalion, had during this period been held in reserve behind the

Second Brigade, under Colonel Leavenworth, Colonel Brady having been compelled, by the severity of his wound, to resign the command. It was now ordered to move to Lundy's Lane, and to form with its right towards the Niagara road and its left in the rear of the artillery.

After the lapse of half an hour, General Drummond was heard again advancing to the assault with renovated vigor. The direction at first given by General Ripley was again observed. The fire of the Americans was dreadful ; and the artillery of Major Hindman, which was served with great skill and coolness, would have taken away all heart from the British for this perilous enterprise, had not an example of bravery been set them by the Americans. After the first discharge, the British general threw himself with his entire weight upon the centre of the American line. He was firmly received by the gallant Twenty-First Regiment, a few platoons only faltering, which were soon restored by General Ripley. Finding that no impression could be made, the whole British line again recoiled, and fell back to the bottom of the hill. During this second contest two gallant charges were led by General Scott in person, the first upon the enemy's left and the second on his right flank, with his consolidated battalion ; but, having to oppose double lines of infantry, his attempts, which would have been decisive had they proved successful, were unavailing. Although he had most fortunately escaped unhurt thus far, subsequently, in passing to the right, he received two severe wounds : regardless of himself, however, he did not quit the field until he had directed Colonel Leavenworth to unite his battalion with the Twenty-Fifth Regiment, under the command of Colonel Jesup.

Disheartened by these repeated defeats, the British were on the point of yielding the contest, when they received

fresh reinforcements from Fort George, which revived their spirits and induced them to make another and still more desperate struggle. After taking an hour to refresh themselves and recover from their fatigue, they advanced with a still more extended line, and with confident hopes of being able to overpower the Americans. Our countrymen, who had stood to their arms during all this time, were worn down with fatigue, and almost fainting with thirst, which there was no water at hand to quench. From the long interval which had elapsed since the second attack, they had begun to cherish hopes that the enemy had abandoned a further attempt; but in this they were disappointed. On the approach of the British for the third time, their courageous spirit returned, and they resolved never to yield the glorious trophies of their victory until they could contend no longer. The British delivered their fire at the same distance as on the preceding onsets. But, although it was returned with the same deadly effect, they did not fall back with the same precipitation as before; they steadily advanced, and repeated their discharge. A conflict, obstinate and dreadful beyond description, ensued. The Twenty-First, under its brave leader, firmly withstood the shock; and, although the right and left repeatedly fell back, they were as often rallied by the personal exertions of the general, and Colonels Miller, Nicholas, and Jesup. At length the two contending lines were on the very summit of the hill, where the contest was waged with terrific violence at the point of the bayonet. Such was the obstinacy of the conflict that many battalions, on both sides, were forced back, and the opposing parties became mingled with each other. Nothing could exceed the desperation of the battle at the point where the cannon were stationed. The enemy having forced themselves into the very midst of Major Hindman's artillery, he was compelled to engage

them across the carriages and guns and at last to spike two of his pieces. General Ripley, having brought back the broken sections to their positions and restored the line, now pressed upon the enemy's flanks and compelled them to give way. The centre soon following the example, and the attack upon the artillery being at this moment repulsed, the whole British line fled a third time; and no exertions of their officers could restrain them until they had placed themselves out of reach of the musketry and artillery. The British now consented to relinquish their cannon, and retired beyond the borders of the field, leaving their dead and wounded.

General Brown had received two severe wounds at the commencement of the last charge, and was compelled to retire to the camp at the Chippewa, leaving the command to General Ripley. The latter officer had made repeated efforts to obtain the means of removing the captured artillery; but, the horses having been killed, and no drag-ropes being at hand, they were still on the place where they had been captured, when orders were received from General Brown to collect the wounded and return to camp immediately. The British cannon were therefore left behind, the smaller pieces having first been rolled down the hill. The whole of the troops reached the camp in good order about midnight, after an unmolested march.

[The British force engaged in this battle amounted to nearly five thousand men, the American to about two-thirds that number. The losses were severe, being eight hundred and seventy-eight men on the British and eight hundred and fifty-one on the American side, the proportion of officers killed and wounded being unusually large. After the battle the army was compelled to fall back to the camp on the Chippewa, for want of food and water. The enemy claimed the victory, on the plea of being left in occupation of the field. Ripley was severely blamed for not bringing off the guns captured by Miller, and for a subsequent retreat to Fort Erie before the advancing British, with

what seemed unnecessary haste. He was, in consequence, removed from his command, which was given to General Gaines. Drummond followed the retreating Americans to Fort Erie, and made a midnight assault upon it, on August 14. This effort proved a disastrous failure, costing him nearly a thousand men. He then began a regular siege of the fort, and brought his works so close that shells and hot shot were thrown daily into it. Drummond's camp was two miles in the rear, a third of his force being sent each day to work in the parallels. General Brown, who had sufficiently recovered from his wound received at Lundy's Lane to resume command, sent out, on September 17, a sudden sortie of two thousand men, which fell upon the British working-party, dismounted the guns, destroyed the works they had been forty-seven days in making, and drove them back with a loss of nine hundred men. This so disheartened Drummond that he abandoned the siege. Shortly afterwards the Americans destroyed Fort Erie and returned to their own soil. Thus ended the campaign on the Niagara, with no permanent advantage gained by either party.]

THE CAPTURE AND BURNING OF WASHINGTON.

BENSON J. LOSSING.

[The final year of the war was distinguished by a greater invasive energy of the British forces than had previously characterized them. The American territory was entered at three different points, by way of Lake Champlain, of Chesapeake Bay, and of the Mississippi. The Northern movement was conducted by Sir George Prevost, who designed to follow the pathway so often adventured in preceding wars, and to penetrate New York at least as far as Crown Point. Chance favored his design, for the greater part of the garrison of Plattsburg was removed, late in August, to relieve General Brown at Fort Erie. General Macomb was left at Plattsburg with about twenty-five hundred men. To these he added reinforcements of three thousand militia on learning of Prevost's invasion. This was a small force to meet the army of fourteen thousand men with which Prevost advanced along the shores of the lake. There accompanied him four ships and twelve

barges, under Captain Downie, with which he designed to master the American fleet on the lake. He did not dare leave this intact to threaten his communications.

The American fleet consisted of ten gunboats and four larger vessels, under the command of Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough. These lay in the harbor at Plattsburg, near the fortifications which the Americans had constructed on the small peninsula at that point. Prevost proposed to take the fort by an attack from the rear, while Downie with the fleet should assail the American ships. He had little doubt of victory, not foreseeing how sturdy an antagonist he was destined to find in the youthful commander of the American fleet, or with what courage his attack on the small redoubts at Plattsburg would be repulsed.

On September 11 the British flotilla rounded Cumberland Head, and attacked the ships in the harbor, while simultaneously the troops on shore attempted to cross the Saranac River and assail the fort. Macdonough had drawn up his four vessels in line across the mouth of the harbor, with the gunboats inside and opposite the intervals between the larger vessels. The brunt of the battle was between the English flag-ship *Confiance* and the *Saratoga* on the American side. The first broadside from the *Confiance* struck down forty men on the *Saratoga*, and eventually every gun of her starboard battery was disabled. But Macdonough had prepared for this, and had laid out kedges by which he now swung his ship round and presented her larboard battery at his antagonist. The *Confiance* attempted the same manœuvre, but without success, and the raking fire which she received soon compelled her to strike her colors. The fight with the remainder of the fleet was equally successful for the Americans. Most of the galleys drifted out into the lake and escaped, but the other vessels of the fleet were forced to surrender.

The victory on the lake was complete. Meanwhile, Prevost had not succeeded in crossing the Saranac in face of the American fire. On perceiving the loss of his fleet he desisted, recalled his troops, and gave up his project of invading New York. The gallant Macdonough, with a much smaller force in men and guns than his antagonist, had by his skilful dispositions and brave defence won an important victory and completely disconcerted a deep-laid scheme of invasion.

During this same period an attack was made on the capital city of Washington, which resulted disastrously to the Americans, and in a shameful instance of vandalism on the part of the British commanders.

During the summer the whole coast had been kept in a state of alarm by the British fleet, which had been largely reinforced, in consequence of the close of the war in Europe. Several places were taken, and many depredations committed on the coast, the only successful resistance being at Stonington, Connecticut. This town was bombarded for three days, fifty tons of iron in missiles being thrown into it. Yet it was so gallantly defended by about twenty men with two or three old guns that the fleet was finally forced to withdraw, with a loss of seventy men, while the loss of the defenders was only seven men wounded. Farther south the fleet of Admiral Cockburn for more than a year had harassed the coast of the Middle States, sending expeditions to plunder helpless villages or destroy plantations, without excuse or warrant in the laws of war. In August, General Ross, with thirty-five hundred veterans from Wellington's army, arrived in the Chesapeake and landed at Benedict on the Patuxent, forty miles below Washington. He was joined by one thousand marines from Cockburn's squadron. Though there was reason to expect some such movement, no efficient preparation had been made for it. The only immediately available force was about five hundred regulars and two thousand militia, under General Winder. The progress of the invaders might have been easily stayed had the roads been obstructed by fallen trees, but no such steps were taken. Barney's fleet of gunboats was given to the flames, and Winder retreated to Bladensburg, where he drew up his small army in a commanding position, behind the creek at that point, and on hills in the rear. From Lossing's "*Field-Book of the War of 1812*" we select a description of the succeeding events.]

SUCH was the disposition of Winder's little army when, at noon, the enemy were seen descending the hills beyond Bladensburg and pressing on toward the bridge. At half-past twelve they were in the town, and came within range of the heavy guns of the first American line. The British commenced hurling rockets at the exposed Americans, and attempted to throw a heavy force across the bridge, but were driven back by their antagonists' cannon and forced to take shelter in the village and behind Lowndes's Hill, in the rear of it. Again, after due preparation, they advanced in double-quick time; and, when the bridge was

crowded with them, the artillery of Winder's first and second lines opened upon them with terrible effect, sweeping down a whole company. The concealed riflemen, under Pinkney, also poured deadly volleys into their exposed ranks; but the British, continually reinforced, pushed gallantly forward, some over the bridge, and some fording the stream above it, and fell so heavily upon the first and unsupported line of the Americans that it was compelled to fall back upon the second. A company, whose commander is unnamed in the reports of the battle, were so panic-stricken that they fled after the first fire, leaving their guns to fall into the hands of the enemy.

The first British brigade was now over the stream, and, elated by their success, did not wait for the second. They threw away their knapsacks and haversacks, and pushed up the hill to attack the American second line in the face of an annoying fire from Captain Burch's artillery. They weakened their force by stretching out so as to form a front equal to that of their antagonists. It was a blunder which Winder quickly perceived and took advantage of. He was then at the head of Sterett's regiment. With this and some of Stansbury's militia, who behaved gallantly, he not only checked the enemy's advance, but, at the point of the bayonet, pressed their attenuated line so strongly that it fell back to the thickets on the brink of the river, near the bridge, where it maintained its position most obstinately until reinforced by the Second Brigade. Thus strengthened, it again pressed forward, and soon turned the left flank of the Americans, and at the same time sent a flight of hissing rockets over and very near the centre and right of Stansbury's line. The frightened regiments of Schutz and Ragan broke, and fled in the wildest confusion. Winder tried to rally them, but in vain. Sterett's corps maintained their ground gallantly until the

enemy had gained both their flanks, when Winder ordered them and the supporting artillery to retire up the hill. They, too, became alarmed, and the retreat, covered by riflemen, was soon a disorderly flight.

The first and second line of the Americans having been dispersed, the British, flushed with success, pushed forward to attack the third. Peter's artillery annoyed but did not check them; and the left, under the gallant Colonel Thornton, soon confronted Barney, in the centre, who maintained his position like a genuine hero, as he was. His eighteen-pounders enfiladed the Washington road, and with them he swept the highway with such terrible effect that the enemy filed off into a field and attempted to turn Barney's right flank. There they were met by three twelve-pounders and marines under Captains Miller and Sevier, and were badly cut up. They were driven back to the ravine already mentioned as the duelling-ground, leaving several of their wounded officers in the hands of the Americans. Colonel Thornton, who bravely led the attacking column, was severely wounded, and General Ross had his horse shot under him.

The flight of Stansbury's troops left Barney unsupported in that direction, while a heavy column was hurled against Beall and his militia, on the right, with such force as to disperse them. The British light troops soon gained position on each flank, and Barney himself was severely wounded near a living fountain of water on the estate of the late Mr. Rives, which is still known as Barney's Spring. When it became evident that Minor's Virginia troops could not arrive in time to aid the gallant flotilla-men, who were obstinately maintaining their position against fearful odds, and that further resistance would be useless, Winder ordered a general retreat. The commodore, too severely hurt to be moved, became a prisoner of war, but was im-

mediately paroled by General Ross, and sent to Bladensburg after his wound was dressed by a British surgeon. There he was joined by his wife and son and his own surgeon, and on the 27th was conveyed to his farm at Elkridge, in Maryland. The great body of Americans who were not dispersed retreated toward Montgomery Court-House, in Maryland, leaving the battle-field in full possession of the enemy, and their way to the national capital unobstructed except by the burning of the two bridges over the eastern branch of the Potomac. The Americans lost twenty-six killed and fifty-one wounded. The British loss was manifold greater. According to one of their officers who was in the battle, and yet living (Mr. Gleig, Chaplain-General of the British army), it was "upward of five hundred killed and wounded," among them "several officers of rank and distinction." The battle commenced at about noon, and ended at four o'clock.

Up to this time the conduct of the British had been in accordance with the rules of modern warfare. Now they abandoned them, and on entering the national capital they performed deeds worthy only of barbarians. In a proclamation issued by the President on the 1st of September he submitted the following indictment: "They wantonly destroyed the public edifices, having no relation in their structure to operations of war, nor used at the time for military annoyance; some of these edifices being also costly monuments of taste and of the arts, and others depositories of the public archives, not only precious to the nation as the memorials of its origin and its early transactions, but interesting to all nations as contributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science." Let us briefly examine the testimony of history.

When Ross was assured of complete victory, he halted his army a short time on the field of battle, and then,

with the fresh Third Brigade, which had not been in the conflict, he crossed the Eastern Branch Bridge. Assured of the retreat of the Americans beyond Georgetown, Ross left the main body a mile and a half from the Capitol, and entered the town, then containing about nine hundred buildings. He came to destroy the public property there. It was an errand, it is said, not at all coincident with his taste or habits, and what was done by him appears to have been performed as humanely as the orders of his superiors would allow. When, on his arrival in the Chesapeake, he had been informed by Admiral Cochrane that he (the admiral) had been urged by Sir George Prevost, the Governor-General of Canada (who was not satisfied with the terrible devastation of the Niagara frontier at the close of 1813), to retaliate in kind upon the Americans for the destruction of the government buildings at York and the village of Newark, he demurred, saying that they had carried on the war on the Peninsula and in France with a very different spirit, and that he could not sanction the destruction of public or private property, with the exception of military structures and warlike stores. "It was not," says one of Ross's surviving aides, Sir Duncan McDougall, in a letter to the author in 1861, "until he was warmly pressed that he consented to destroy the Capitol and President's house, for the purpose of preventing a repetition of the uncivilized proceedings of the troops of the United States." Fortunately for Ross's sensibility, there was a titled incendiary at hand in the person of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who delighted in such inhuman work, and who literally became his torch-bearer.

The bulk of the invaders, having crossed the Eastern Branch, halted upon the plain between the Capitol and the site of the Congressional Burying-Ground, when General Ross, accompanied by Cockburn and a guard of two hun-

dred men, rode into the city at eight o'clock in the evening. They were fired upon from behind the house of Robert Sewell, near the Capitol, by a single musket, and the horse on which the general was riding was killed. Mr. Sewell's house was immediately destroyed. The same fate awaited the materials in the office of the *National Intelligencer*, the government organ, whose strictures on the brutality of Cockburn had filled that marauder with hot anger. These, and some houses on Capitol Hill, a large rope-walk, and a tavern, comprised the bulk of private property destroyed, thanks to the restraining power of General Ross. Several houses and stores were also plundered. The unfinished Capitol, in which was the library of Congress, the President's house, a mile distant, the Treasury buildings, the Arsenal, and barracks for almost three thousand troops, were soon in flames, whose light was plainly seen in Baltimore, about forty miles northward. In the course of a few hours nothing of the superb Capitol and the Presidential mansion was left but their smoke-blackened walls. Of the public buildings only the Patent Office was saved.

All the glory that the British had won on the battlefield was lost in this barbarian conflagration. "Willingly," said the London *Statesman* newspaper, "would we throw a veil of oblivion over our transactions at Washington. The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the capital of America." The British *Annual Register* for 1814 denounced the proceedings as a "return to the times of barbarism." "It cannot be concealed," the writer continued, "that the extent of devastation practised by the victors brought a heavy censure upon the British character, not only in America, but on the continent of Europe." Continental writers and speakers condemned the act in unmeasured terms; and yet the government of England,

which had seldom represented the sentiments of the *people*, caused the Tower guns to be fired in honor of Ross's victory, thanked the actors through Parliament, decreed a monument to that general in Westminster Abbey at his death, and, making additions to his armorial bearings, authorized his descendants forever to style themselves "Ross of Bladensburg"!

While the public buildings in Washington were in flames, the national shipping, stores, and other property were blazing at the navy-yard; also the great bridge over the Potomac, from Washington City to the Virginia shore. Commodore Thomas Tingey was in command of the navy-yard, and, before the battle, had received orders to set fire to the public property there in the event of the British gaining a victory, so as to prevent its falling into the hands of the invaders. Tingey delayed the execution of the order for four hours after the contingency had occurred. When, at half-past eight in the evening, he was informed that the enemy was encamped within the city limits, near the Capitol, he applied the torch, and property valued at about a million of dollars was destroyed. The schooner *Lynx* was saved, and most of the metallic work at the navy-yard remained but little injured. The fine naval monument [to the officers who fell at Tripoli] was somewhat mutilated, but whether accidentally at the time of the conflagration, or wantonly by the British, who went there the next day to complete the destructive work, is an unsettled question. At the same time, the Long Bridge over the Potomac was fired at both ends. The Americans on the Virginia side thought a large body of British troops were about to pass over, and fired that end to foil them, while the British on the city side, perceiving, as they thought, a large body of Americans about to cross over from the Virginia side, fired the Maryland end of the

bridge. The value of the entire amount of property destroyed at Washington by the British and Americans was estimated at about two million dollars. The walls of the Capitol and President's house stood firm, and were used in rebuilding.

President Madison, and other civil officers who went out to see the fight and give such assistance as they might, remained on the field until Barney fell, when they fled to the city as fast as swift-footed horses could carry them, and were among the first to announce the startling intelligence that the British, victorious, were probably marching on the town. Mrs. Madison had already been apprised of the danger. When the flight of Congreve rockets caused the panic-stricken militia to fly, the President sent messengers to inform her that the defeat of the Americans and the capture of the city seemed to be promised, and to advise her to fly to a place of safety. These messengers reached her between two and three o'clock. Mrs. Madison ordered her carriage, and sent away in a wagon silver plate and other valuables, to be deposited in the Bank of Maryland. She anxiously waited for her husband, and in the mean time took measures for preserving the full-length portrait of Washington, painted by Stuart, which hung in the Presidential mansion. Finding the process of unscrewing the frame from the wall too tedious for the exigency, she had it broken in pieces, and the picture removed with the "stretcher," or light frame on which the canvas was nailed. This she did with her own hands. Just as she had accomplished so much, two gentlemen from New York, one of whom was the now [1867] venerable New Orleans banker, Jacob Barker, entered the room. The picture was lying on the floor. The sounds of approaching troops were heard. They might be the invaders, who would be delighted by the possession of so

notable a captive as the beautiful wife of the President. It was time for her to fly. "Save that picture," she said to Mr. Barker and Mr. R. G. L. De Peyster, his companion,—"save that picture, if possible; if not possible, destroy it: under no circumstances allow it to fall into the hands of the British." Then, snatching up the precious parchment on which was written the Declaration of Independence and the autographs of the signers, which she had resolved to save also, she hastened to the carriage with her sister (Mrs. Cutts) and her husband, and two servants, and was borne away to a place of safety beyond the Potomac.

Just as Barker and De Peyster had taken the picture from the stretcher and rolled it up, a portion of the flying American army came up, and halted in front of the President's house. Some refreshments were given to them, when they marched up toward Montgomery Court-House, the appointed place of rendezvous for the broken army, followed by those gentlemen with the picture. They left it in charge of a farmer in whose house they lodged that night, and a few weeks afterward Mr. Barker restored the portrait to Mrs. Madison. It now hangs upon the wall in the Blue Room of the Presidential mansion.

It was not the design of the British to hold the territory which they had, unexpectedly to themselves, acquired. Indeed, the whole movement up the Chesapeake was originally intended as a feint,—a menace of Baltimore and Washington, to engage the attention of the government and people, and to draw in that direction the military force of the country, while the far more important measure of invading Louisiana with a formidable force and taking possession of the Mississippi Valley should be matured and executed. Accordingly, when Winder's forces were defeated and routed, the President and his Cabinet driven

from the national capital, and the public buildings destroyed, the invaders retreated precipitately, evidently in the fear of a reactive blow. While the British cabinet, judging from metropolitan influence in European countries, were disposed to believe that, with the loss of their capital, the Americans would consider all gone, and would yield in despair to their victors, those conquerors, on the spot, saw too well the danger to be apprehended from the spirit of a people aroused to greater exertions, and with more united energy, because of that very misfortune.

Impressed with a sense of this danger, Ross and Cochrane moved away with their forces with great secrecy on the night of the 25th of August, after ordering every inhabitant of Washington to remain within-doors from sunset to sunrise, on pain of death, and increasing their camp-fires, so as to deceive the Americans. It was immediately after the passage of a terrific tempest of wind, lightning, and rain, during which houses were unroofed and trees were uprooted. Softly these victors stole away in the gloom. "No man spoke above his breath," says one of the British officers who was present. "Our very steps were planted lightly, and we cleared the town without exciting observation." At midnight, just as the moon arose and cast a pale light over the scenes, they passed the battle-field and Bladensburg, leaving their dead unburied, and full ninety of their wounded to the humanity of Commodore Barney and his men. It was humiliating to the British troops thus to steal away in the dark from the field of their conquest. They moved sullenly onward, so wearied with fatigue and loss of sleep that when the columns halted for a few minutes the roads would be filled with sleeping soldiers. At seven o'clock in the morning, finding themselves but little annoyed by pursuers, they halted for rest and refreshments for several hours. At

noon they moved forward, encamped at Marlborough, and, marching leisurely, reached Benedict on the 29th, where they embarked on the transports the next day.

[This invasion was followed by a similar one directed against Baltimore. On September 6 Cochrane's fleet sailed up the Chesapeake, and entered the Patapsco on the 11th. Nine thousand men were landed at North Point, twelve miles below Baltimore. They found their task more difficult than that at Washington. General Ross was mortally wounded by a sharp-shooter, and for three hours the British were successfully resisted by three thousand volunteers, under General Stricker. Finally their right wing was turned, and they were forced to fall back. The invaders followed on the next day, but, finding their opponents reinforced and strongly posted, they did not venture on an attack, but withdrew in the darkness of the ensuing night.

Meanwhile, the fleet for twenty-four hours bombarded Fort McHenry and the adjoining intrenchments, from a distance beyond the reach of the guns of the fort. At night the fleet landed a force to attack the forts in the rear. It was met, however, with a shower of red-hot shot, and forced to retreat with severe loss. This ended the effort, and Cochrane retired with the fleet and army.]

THE DEFENCE OF NEW ORLEANS.

G. R. GLEIG.

[As a preliminary to the subject of this article a review of the principal naval events of the years 1813 and 1814 may be given. Many desperate ocean-fights took place during these years, though not with the uniform success for the Americans of those of 1812. The conflict between the *Hornet* and the *Peacock*, on February 24, 1813, we have already mentioned. On June 1, the *Chesapeake*, lying in Boston harbor, accepted the challenge to battle of the British frigate *Shannon*, and put to sea, though in no proper condition for fighting. In the battle that ensued the *Chesapeake* suffered severely; all her higher officers were killed and wounded, Lawrence, the captain, being mortally

wounded early in the action. His dying words, "Don't give up the ship," were afterwards displayed on Captain Perry's standard in the battle of Lake Erie, and have become the motto of the American navy. The Chesapeake was, after being disabled, boarded and forced to surrender. In August the British brig Pelican captured the American brig Argus, which had previously captured more than twenty vessels in the English Channel. In September the Americans gained a naval victory, the brig Enterprise capturing the brig Boxer, after a severe battle of forty minutes' duration. During the summer the frigate Essex, under Captain Porter, cruised in the Pacific, and captured a great number of British vessels. Early in the succeeding year she was attacked in the harbor of Valparaiso by the frigate Phoebe and the sloop Cherub, the two being superior to her in force. The Essex was desperately defended, and did not yield till almost cut to pieces.

During the year the ocean swarmed with American privateers, which occasionally did not hesitate to attack war-vessels. The privateer Decatur captured the war-schooner Dominica, and the fishing-smack Yankee, with forty men, surprised and captured, off Sandy Hook, the sloop-of-war Eagle. In March, 1813, the blockade of the coast was extended from Montauk Point, Long Island, to the mouth of the Mississippi, though the British squadron under Admiral Warren was inadequate to make this more than a "paper blockade." The Macedonian, United States, and Hornet were chased into New London harbor by a British squadron, and so diligently blockaded that they were not able to put to sea again. Meanwhile, Admiral Cockburn, Warren's second in command, raided the coast from Delaware to North Carolina, making piratical descents and destroying the property of the defenceless inhabitants with cruel and useless barbarity.

In 1814 the American navy achieved some brilliant successes. The sloop Peacock captured the brig Epervier, while the Wasp captured the Reindeer and sunk the Avon. The privateer General Armstrong was attacked in the port of Fayal by a British fleet, and an attempt made to cut her out by boats. The result was disastrous to her enemies, who were driven off with a loss of one hundred and twenty killed and ninety wounded, while the loss on the privateer was only two killed and nine wounded. Seeing that it would be impossible to save her, the captain and crew left the Armstrong, setting her on fire, and took refuge in a deserted convent on shore, in anticipation of an attack. This, however, the protest of the authorities prevented the British from making. Several hard-fought naval battles took place after peace

was declared, but before the ships at sea could be informed of this fact. The President fought the *Endymion* to a wreck, but before she could take possession of her as a prize she was herself captured by a British squadron. In February, 1815, the *Constitution* captured the *Cyane* and *Levant* off the island of Madeira, and in March the *Hornet* captured the *Penguin* off the coast of Brazil. In both these cases the captured vessels were stronger than their captors.

In addition to these naval contests, one of the most notable land-battles of the war, that of New Orleans, was fought after the declaration of peace. This severe conflict we may more particularly describe. After the destruction of Washington and the assault on Baltimore, the British fleet sailed south, and in December appeared off Pensacola, which city General Jackson had previously taken by storm and prevented its being made a harbor for British ships of war. As it appeared that an attack on New Orleans was intended, Jackson hastened to this city. Here he found the utmost confusion and alarm prevailing. By stringent exertions, however, order was restored, the militia organized, fortifications built, and finally martial law proclaimed. On December 10 the British fleet entered Lake Borgne, where a squadron of gunboats was captured. After much difficulty, a portion of the British army reached the Mississippi at a point nine miles below New Orleans, where, on the 23d of December, a night-attack was made on them. This they repelled, losing four hundred men in killed and wounded. Jackson then withdrew to his intrenchments, four miles below the city. These works, partly made of cotton-bales, were unsuccessfully cannonaded by the enemy on December 28 and January 1. Finally, on January 8, the British army, twelve thousand strong (or six thousand, as stated by the British author of the following article), under General Packenham, advanced to the assault of these works, which were defended by six thousand militia, most of them adepts in the use of the rifle.

The story of Jackson's gallant defence of New Orleans has been so often told from the American point of view that we select a description of it from a British author, who himself took part in the battle. His story is picturesque and impartial, and his work as a whole a highly interesting personal narrative of the later events of the war. The work in question is "*The Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans*," by Rev. G. R. Gleig.]

It was a clear frosty morning, the mists had dispersed,

and the sun shone brightly upon our arms when we began our march. The enemy's corps of observation fell back as we advanced, without offering in any way to impede our progress, and it was impossible to guess, ignorant as we were of the position of his main body, at what moment opposition might be expected. Nor, in truth, was it matter of much anxiety. Our spirits, in spite of the troubles of the night, were good, and our expectations of success were high, consequently many rude jests were bandied about, and many careless words spoken; for soldiers are, of all classes of men, the freest from care, and on that account, perhaps, the most happy. By being continually exposed to it, danger, with them, ceases to be frightful; of death they have no more terror than the beasts that perish; and even hardships, such as cold, wet, hunger, and broken rest, lose at least part of their disagreeableness by the frequency of their recurrence.

Moving on in this merry mood, we advanced about four or five miles without the smallest check or hinderance; when, at length, we found ourselves in view of the enemy's army, posted in a very advantageous manner. About forty yards in their front was a canal, which extended from the morass to within a short distance of the high-road. Along their line were thrown up breastworks, not indeed completed, but even now formidable. Upon the road and at several other points were erected powerful batteries; whilst the ship, with a large flotilla of gunboats, flanked the whole position from the river.

When I say that we came in sight of the enemy, I do not mean that he was gradually exposed to us in such a manner as to leave time for cool examination and reflection. On the right, indeed, he was seen for some time, but on the left a few houses built at a turning in the road entirely concealed him; nor was it till they had gained that

turning, and beheld the muzzles of his guns pointed towards them, that those who moved in this direction were aware of their proximity to danger. But that danger was indeed near they were quickly taught; for scarcely had the head of the column passed the houses when a deadly fire was opened from both the battery and the shipping. That the Americans are excellent marksmen, as well with artillery as with rifles, we have had frequent cause to acknowledge; but perhaps on no occasion did they assert their claim to the title of good artillerymen more effectually than on the present. Scarcely a ball passed over or fell short of its mark, but all, striking full into the midst of our ranks, occasioned terrible havoc. The shrieks of the wounded, therefore, the crash of firelocks, and the fall of such as were killed, caused at first some little confusion; and what added to the panic was, that from the houses beside which we stood bright flames suddenly burst out. The Americans, expecting this attack, had filled them with combustibles for the purpose, and, directing against them one or two guns loaded with red-hot shot, in an instant set them on fire. The scene was altogether very sublime. A tremendous cannonade mowed down our ranks and deafened us with its roar; whilst two large chateaux and their outbuildings almost scorched us with the flames and blinded us with the smoke which they emitted.

The infantry, however, was not long suffered to remain thus exposed; but, being ordered to quit the path and to form line in the fields, the artillery was brought up, and opposed to that of the enemy. But the contest was in every respect unequal, since their artillery far exceeded ours, both in numerical strength and weight of metal. The consequence was that in half an hour two of our field-pieces and one field-mortar were dismounted; many of

the gunners were killed ; and the rest, after an ineffectual attempt to silence the fire of the shipping, were obliged to retire.

In the mean time the infantry, having formed line, advanced under a heavy discharge of round and grape shot, till they were checked by the appearance of the canal. Of its depth they were of course ignorant, and to attempt its passage without having ascertained whether it could be forded might have been productive of fatal consequences. A halt was accordingly ordered, and the men were commanded to shelter themselves as well as they could from the enemy's fire. For this purpose they were hurried into a wet ditch, of sufficient depth to cover the knees, where, leaning forward, they concealed themselves behind some high rushes which grew upon its brink, and thus escaped many bullets which fell around them in all directions.

Thus fared it with the left of the army, whilst the right, though less exposed to the cannonade, was not more successful in its object. The same impediment which checked one column forced the other likewise to pause ; and after having driven in an advanced body of the enemy, and endeavored, without effect, to penetrate through the marsh, it also was commanded to halt. In a word, all thought of attacking was for this day abandoned ; and it now only remained to withdraw the troops from their present perilous position with as little loss as possible.

The first thing to be done was to remove the dismounted guns. Upon this enterprise a party of seamen were employed, who, running forward to the spot where they lay, lifted them, in spite of the whole of the enemy's fire, and bore them off in triumph. As soon as this was effected, regiment after regiment stole away, not in a body, but one by one, under the same discharge which saluted their ap-

proach. But a retreat thus conducted necessarily occupied much time. Noon had therefore long passed before the last corps was brought off; and when we again began to muster, twilight was approaching. We did not, however, retire to our former position; but, having fallen back only about two miles from the canal, where it was supposed that we should be beyond reach of annoyance from the American artillery, we there established ourselves for the night, having suffered less during the day than, from our exposed position and the enemy's heavy fire, might have been expected.

[During the succeeding days, December 29 and 30, the army lay encamped, some unsuccessful efforts being made to find a path through the morass by which the American left might be turned. Meanwhile, Jackson actively strengthened his position, and by elevating his guns managed to throw balls into the British camp. It was evident that every day's delay decreased the chances of success. Yet what to do was not apparent. An endeavor to storm the American lines seemed too desperate to be undertaken. It was impossible to turn them, and the Americans were not to be drawn from their intrenchments. But one course remained,—to erect breaching-batteries and attempt to silence some of their guns.]

To this plan, therefore, our leader had recourse; and, in consequence, the whole of these three days were employed in landing heavy cannon, bringing up ammunition, and making such preparations as might have sufficed for a siege.

At length, having completed his arrangements, and provided such means as were considered sufficient to insure success, General Packenham determined to commence operations without delay. One half of the army was accordingly ordered out on the night of the 31st, and marched to the front, passing the pickets, and halting about three hundred yards from the enemy's line. Here it was resolved to throw up a chain of works, and here the greater

part of this detachment, laying down their firelocks, applied themselves vigorously to their tasks, whilst the rest stood armed and prepared for their defence.

The night was dark, and our people maintained a profound silence; by which means, not an idea of what was going on existed in the American camp. As we labored, too, with all diligence, six batteries were completed long before dawn, in which were mounted thirty pieces of heavy cannon; when, falling back a little way, we united ourselves to the remainder of the infantry, and lay down behind some rushes, in readiness to act as soon as we should be wanted.

In the erection of these batteries a circumstance occurred worthy of notice, on account of its singularity. I have already stated that the whole of this district was covered with the stubble of sugar-cane; and I might have added that every storehouse and barn attached to the different mansions scattered over it was filled with barrels of sugar. In throwing up these works the sugar was used instead of earth. Rolling the hogsheads towards the front, they were placed upright in the parapets of the batteries; and it was computed that sugar to the value of many thousand pounds sterling was thus disposed of.

[It was a singular circumstance that batteries of cotton-bales on the one side should be opposed by batteries of sugar-hogsheads on the other; though neither proved very suitable for the purpose. Jackson's cotton-bales proved so inefficient that it became necessary to replace them with a bank of river mud. The morning of the 1st of January was misty. As the mist rose, the American regiments were discovered on parade, and were so taken by surprise on the opening of the British cannonade as to be thrown into utter confusion. A charge in force at that moment might have proved successful.]

Whilst this consternation prevailed among the infantry, their artillery remained silent; but as soon as the former

rallied they also recovered confidence, and answered our salute with great rapidity and precision. A heavy cannonade quickly commenced on both sides, and continued during the whole of the day, till, towards evening, our ammunition began to fail, and our fire in consequence to slacken. The fire of the Americans, on the other hand, was redoubled: landing a number of guns from the flotilla, they increased their artillery to a prodigious amount; and, directing at the same time the whole force of their cannon on the opposite bank against the flank of our batteries, they soon convinced us that all endeavors to surpass them in this mode of fighting would be useless. Once more, therefore, were we obliged to retire, leaving our heavy guns to their fate; but, as no attempt was made by the Americans to secure them, working parties were again sent out after dark, and such as had not been destroyed were removed.

[So far all efforts had proved abortive. The army was worn out with fatigue, provisions, which had to be derived from the distant ships, were coarse and scanty, and murmurs of discouragement were heard throughout the camp. Not only were they annoyed by the constant play of the American guns, which was kept up day and night, but they were exposed to a deadly fire from the opposite side of the river, where a battery of eighteen pieces of artillery had been mounted which swept the British camp. The affair was growing daily more desperate, and success or retreat would soon be necessary. Under these circumstances, Packenham determined to cut a canal by which boats might be brought up from the lake, to send a detachment over the river and take the battery there placed, and to turn its guns on the American works at the same moment that he assailed them in front. It was a well-devised scheme, but proved unsuccessful. The canal was finished by the 6th of January, but in taking the boats through part of the banks caved in, so that only the light boats could pass. Thus, instead of the designed fourteen hundred men, only three hundred and forty crossed the river, and these were so late in starting that day was dawning when they rowed out on the Mississippi.

The 8th of January was the day fixed on for the assault, and at day-break the signal-rocket was fired. But the boat-party was yet four miles from the battery which it should have been in possession of hours before had all gone well. The attack on the battery was successful, but it was too late to be of service to the main body.]

In the mean time, the main body arrived and moved forward some way in front of the pickets. There they stood waiting for daylight, and listening with the greatest anxiety for the firing which ought now to be heard on the opposite bank. But their attention was exerted in vain, and day dawned upon them long before they desired its appearance. Nor was Sir Edward Packenham disappointed in this part of his plan alone. Instead of perceiving everything in readiness for the assault, he saw his troops in battle-array, but not a ladder or fascine upon the field. The 44th, which was appointed to carry them, had either misunderstood or neglected their orders, and now headed the column of attack without any means being provided for crossing the enemy's ditch or scaling his rampart.

The indignation of our brave leader on this occasion may be imagined, but cannot be described. Galloping towards Colonel Mullens, who led the 44th, he commanded him instantly to return with his regiment for the ladders; but the opportunity of planting them was lost, and though they were brought up, it was only to be scattered over the field by the frightened bearers. For our troops were by this time visible to the enemy. A dreadful fire was accordingly opened upon them, and they were mowed down by hundreds, while they stood waiting for orders.

Seeing that all his well-laid plans were frustrated, Packenham gave the word to advance, and the other regiments, leaving the 44th with the ladders and fascines behind them, rushed on to the assault. On the left, a detachment under

Colonel Rennie, of the 21st regiment, stormed a three-gun battery, and took it. Here they remained for some time in expectation of support ; but, none arriving, and a strong column of the enemy forming for its recovery, they determined to anticipate the attack, and pushed on. The battery which they had taken was in advance of the body of the works, being cut off from it by a ditch, across which only a single plank was thrown. Along this plank did these brave men attempt to pass ; but, being opposed by overpowering numbers, they were repulsed ; and the Americans, in turn, forcing their way into the battery, at length succeeded in recapturing it with immense slaughter. On the right, again, the 21st and 4th, supported by the 93d, though thrown into some confusion by the enemy's fire, pushed on with desperate gallantry to the ditch ; but to scale the parapet without ladders was a work of no slight difficulty. Some few, indeed, by mounting upon one another's shoulders, succeeded in entering the works, but these were speedily overpowered, most of them killed, and the rest taken ; whilst as many as stood without were exposed to a sweeping fire, which cut them down by whole companies. It was in vain that the most obstinate courage was displayed. They fell by the hands of men whom they absolutely did not see ; for the Americans, without so much as lifting their faces above the rampart, swung their firelocks by one arm over the wall, and discharged them directly upon their heads. The whole of the guns, likewise, from the opposite bank, kept up a well-directed and deadly cannonade upon their flank ; and thus were they destroyed without an opportunity being given of displaying their valor or obtaining as much as revenge.

Sir Edward saw how things were going, and did all that a general could do to rally his broken troops. Riding towards the 44th, which had returned to the ground, but

in great disorder, he called out for Colonel Mullens to advance; but that officer had disappeared, and was not to be found. He therefore prepared to lead them on himself, and had put himself at their head for that purpose, when he received a slight wound in the knee from a musket-ball, which killed his horse. Mounting another, he again headed the 44th, when a second ball took effect more fatally, and he dropped lifeless into the arms of his aide-de-camp.

Nor were Generals Gibbs and Keane inactive. Riding through the ranks, they strove by all means to encourage the assailants and recall the fugitives; till at length both were wounded, and borne off the field. All was now confusion and dismay. Without leaders, ignorant of what was to be done, the troops first halted and then began to retire, till finally the retreat was changed into a flight, and they quitted the ground in the utmost disorder. But the retreat was covered in gallant style by the reserve. Making a forward movement, the 7th and 43d presented the appearance of a renewed attack; by which the enemy were so much awed that they did not venture beyond their lines in pursuit of the fugitives.

[Meanwhile, the assault on the batteries on the opposite side of the river proved successful; but it was made too late to be of service to the charging army. The Americans, surprised and dismayed by this unexpected attack upon their rear, yielded to a smaller force, and deserted their cannon.]

In this affair our loss amounted to only three men killed and about forty wounded, among the latter of whom was Colonel Thornton. Nor could the loss on the part of the enemy greatly exceed our own. Had they stood firm, indeed, it is hardly conceivable that so small a force could have wrested an intrenched position from numbers so superior; at least it could not have done so without

much bloodshed. But they were completely surprised. An attack on this side was a circumstance of which they had not dreamed; and when men are assaulted in a point which they deem beyond the reach of danger it is well known that they defend themselves with less vigor than where such an event was anticipated.

When in the act of storming these lines, the word was passed through our ranks that all had gone well on the opposite bank. This naturally added to the vigor of the assault; but we had not followed our flying enemy above two miles when we were commanded to halt. The real state of the case had now reached us, and the same messenger who brought the melancholy news brought likewise an order to return.

The place where we halted was in rear of a canal, across which was thrown a wooden bridge, furnishing apparently the only means of passing. At the opposite end of this bridge stood a collection of wooden cottages, and one chateau of some size. Here a company was stationed to serve the double purpose of a picket and a rear-guard; whilst the main body, having rested for half an hour, began their march towards the place where they had landed.

As soon as the column got sufficiently on their way the picket likewise prepared to follow. But in doing so it was evident that some risk must be run. The enemy, having rallied, began again to show a front; that is to say, parties of sixty or a hundred men approached to reconnoitre. These, however, must be deceived, otherwise a pursuit might be commenced, and the re-embarkation of the whole corps hindered or prevented. It so happened that the picket in question was this day under my command: as soon, therefore, as I received information that the main body had commenced its retreat, I formed my men, and

made a show of advancing. The Americans, perceiving this, fled; when, wheeling about, we set fire to the chateau, and under cover of the smoke destroyed the bridge and retreated. Making all haste towards the rear, we overtook our comrades just as they had begun to embark; when the little corps, being once more united, entered their boats, and reached the opposite bank without molestation.

[So ended this disjointed affair, which had been rendered futile not only by the actual difficulties of the enterprise, but by that series of misadventures to which all military operations are subject. The loss of the British is given by our author at fifteen hundred, while American authorities state it at seven hundred killed and more than one thousand wounded, and the American loss at but seven killed and six wounded. Of their leaders, Packenham was killed, Gibbs mortally and Keane severely wounded. General Lambert now took command, with no further thought than to retreat to the shipping with as little loss as possible. This was a difficult matter. The whole army could not be transported in their boats, and it was not safe to divide it. It became necessary to construct a road through several miles of a morass. This took them till the 18th, during which time many of the soldiers deserted. On the evening of the 18th the camp-fires were left burning, and the army stole away over its wet and yielding path, reaching, after the greatest hardships and difficulties, the borders of the lake. From here the shipping was safely gained, and the fleet stood away for Mobile Bay, off which, on February 14, word came of the treaty of peace, with the discouraging reflection that their desperate effort had been in every respect useless.]

SECTION IX.

THE PROGRESS OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE CENTURY.

CHARLES MORRIS.

THE political history of the second war with Great Britain is one of strong party spirit, and of a persistent opposition to the war on the part of the Federalists. The party under this name, however, had greatly changed in its principles since the accession to power of the Republicans. Instituted originally in favor of a strong central government, it was now bitterly opposed to the increase of Executive power, while the Republicans, the successors of the older Anti-Federalists, supported the administration in acts which their opponents denounced as "encroachments upon the liberties of the people" and "invasions of the principles of civil liberty." The aggressions of England, the retaliatory measures of America, and the resulting war gave abundant exercise to the virulence of party spirit, and a war of opinions kept pace throughout with the war of hostile armies.

That there was abundant occasion for war needs no argument. The aggressive acts of Great Britain were of a nature which now would not be submitted to for a month, yet they were extended over a period of some twenty years. An official statement of the Secretary of State,

made in 1812, declares that five hundred and twenty-eight American merchantmen had been taken by British men-of-war prior to 1807, and three hundred and eighty-nine after that period. The value of these vessels and cargoes, if estimated at the low figure of twenty-five thousand dollars each, would be nearly thirty million dollars, forcibly seized by a nation with whom we were at peace. During the same period several thousand seamen were impressed from American vessels, the greater number of whom were undoubtedly American citizens. Of eight hundred and seventy-three taken in eighteen months from October, 1807, to April, 1809, only ninety-eight were shown to be British subjects, but only two hundred and eighty-seven were released. And such as were eventually yielded as American citizens were long held as virtual prisoners, and finally left to make their way home penniless, and without even an apology for the outrage.

There was in all this abundant warrant for war. But the preliminary measure of the embargo, while it had caused severe distress to the industrial classes of England and reduced numerous manufacturers to poverty, bore yet more severely on the industries of America, and roused an unrelenting opposition to the administration. In the House the declaration of war was carried by a vote of 79 to 49, and in the Senate by the small majority of 19 to 13. The strong opposition here displayed was general throughout the Northern section of the country, and the Federal party everywhere opposed the war with great bitterness. The industrial depression which the embargo had created was continued by the war, and the suffering experienced gave strong support to the measures of the "Peace Party," who threw every possible obstruction, short of open rebellion, in the way of its successful prosecution.

At that period the commerce of the country was much

less localized than at present. The total exports from 1791 to 1813 aggregated, in round numbers, two hundred and ninety-nine millions of dollars from the Eastern section, five hundred and thirty-four millions from the Middle, and five hundred and nine millions from the Southern section. The shipping of New England was more abundant, yet it was not much in excess of that of the Middle and Southern States. The distress from loss of commerce, therefore, must have been somewhat evenly distributed. Yet the vigorous opposition to the war came from the New England States. It had become a party sentiment, and was manifested most strongly where the Federal party was in excess.

The feeling engendered grew so violent that a disruption of the Union seems to have been desired by some of the ultra-Federalists. The lack of preparation for the war, and the incapacity with which it was managed for a long period, gave abundant arguments against the administration, while the heavy taxation laid upon a people who had been for years impoverished added a strong personal point to these arguments. Inspired by these feelings, the people of New England withheld aid as far as possible from the government, and made the not unreasonable complaint that the strength of the army was wasted in inadequate efforts to invade Canada, while the ocean border was left at the mercy of English cruisers, and the militia which should have defended it employed in distant and useless duty. The South and West favored the invasion of Canada, but from New York northward the opposite opinion strongly prevailed, while New England complained that the administration left it completely undefended, and even refused to Massachusetts the arms to which that State was entitled, and which were needed for its defence.

The embargo of 1813 was a new blow to the interests

of New England. It was now proposed by zealous Federalists that the militia and revenues of New England should be kept for home defence, and Massachusetts resolved to call out ten thousand men to protect the coast, these men to be under officers appointed by the State. Such a proceeding was dangerous, though it could not be held to violate the provisions of the Constitution, which limited the control of the army to the general government in times of peace, but made no definite provision on this subject for times of war.

The opposition to administration measures reached its ultimate in December, 1814, when a convention of delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, with a partial representation from New Hampshire and Vermont, met at Hartford for the purpose of considering the grievances of the people and of deciding how they could be best redressed. This convention assembled in secret session, and much doubt existed as to its purposes and proceedings. It was denounced as treasonable by the friends of the administration, and a strong excitement prevailed concerning it. But at the date of its assembly the enthusiasm of its supporters had become reduced by the strong indications of peace, and this undoubtedly influenced the deliberations of the members. When its proceedings were published they proved to be so mild as to excite general surprise. Instead of advocating a dissolution of the Union, or other violent measure, they confined themselves to a statement of grievances, most of which unquestionably existed, but were necessary results of the war, and proposed several amendments to the Constitution. They demanded that representation in the House should be based on the free population alone, that the President should not be eligible for re-election, that State officers should be held only by native-born citizens, that no em-

bargo should extend more than sixty days, and that a two-thirds vote should be required to prohibit commercial intercourse, admit new States, authorize hostilities, and declare war. They also strongly opposed the mode adopted in recruiting the army. In all this there was nothing to warrant the terms of reproach with which it was long customary to speak of the "Hartford Convention," which was held up to the people by the opposing party as something deserving of the severest reprobation.

Its recommendations fell dead. With the signing of the treaty of peace the causes of complaint disappeared, and in the universal joy that followed all thought that the Constitution was not a perfect instrument disappeared. In August, 1814, the commissioners of the United States and Great Britain met at Ghent, in Flanders, where they signed a treaty of peace on the 24th of the following December. The British commissioners at first insisted that the Indians should be made parties to the treaty, and that definite boundary-lines should be fixed which neither party should pass. This was objected to on the part of the United States, and it was finally agreed that the Indians should be restored to the status of rights and possessions which they held in 1811, if they would agree to desist from hostilities. Both parties were prohibited from keeping a naval force on the lakes. The questions of boundaries and of the fisheries were settled, but on the points which had been the cause of the war—the encroachments upon American commerce, and the right of impressment—no measures were adopted. The treaty, as signed, was silent on these subjects. These causes of the war had disappeared, and the navy of the United States had proved its ability to defend American commerce in any future difficulty, so the sore subject was quietly ignored.

The war had produced certain important changes in the industrial relations of America. The embargo had annihilated commerce for several years before the war, and this had been continued by the subsequent blockade, these influences causing an abnormal scarcity of goods of foreign production. Many such articles were obtained wholly from abroad, and these grew very scarce and dear. Others, such as sugar, woollens, pottery, glassware, hardware, and cutlery, were produced partly at home, and were less severely affected; while the staples of home production—cotton, tobacco, and food-products—fell very low in price. Yet strenuous efforts were made to overcome the scarcity of foreign goods by home manufacture, and the interests of industrial production in America gained an important impetus. Numerous manufacturing establishments were founded, particularly in the Northern States, and that process of rendering the United States industrially independent of Europe, which had made some progress against severe discouragements in the colonies and in the early years of the republic, now progressed with encouraging rapidity.

But the close of the war quickly reversed all these conditions. Foreign goods, mostly of British manufacture, were poured profusely into the country, and the price of such commodities fell to less than half their war value. As a consequence, many of the rival manufactories of America were ruined. They had not attained a condition to enable them to compete with the skilled and cheap labor abroad, and but few of them were able to stand the sudden strain. It was the severer that English manufacturers, jealous of this growing rivalry, took special pains to undersell the products of American workshops.

Agriculture, on the contrary, received a powerful impetus, and its products greatly increased in value. Cot-

ton, which had been sold with difficulty at ten cents per pound, now had a ready sale at more than double that price. Tobacco rose from two or three to fifteen, twenty, and even twenty-five dollars the hundred-weight. The value of land and labor rose in proportion, producers and merchants became enriched by the rapid rise in prices, and the shipping interests of the country grew more prosperous than ever before. The currency, which during the war had become a depreciated paper money, continued disordered, but this had no specially disturbing influence on the agricultural and commercial prosperity of the country, and every interest except that of manufacture was remarkably benefited. With this sudden change from poverty and privation to affluence and luxury the expenditure of the people greatly increased. Gold watches replaced those of silver, silk goods took the place of cotton, costly wines succeeded whiskey and other common beverages, furniture became transformed, and in every way the enhanced wealth of the people made itself apparent. Yet during this period the only money in use south of New England was the irredeemable paper of the banks, or in some cases the currency issues of irresponsible individuals.

An effort was made to overcome the latter difficulty by the establishment of a national bank. The charter of the former institution of this character had expired in 1811. After considerable debate, Congress passed, during the session of 1816, an act founding a national bank. This institution, which was given a twenty years' charter, was incorporated with a capital of thirty-five millions of dollars, its debts being limited to fifty millions, exclusive of deposits. Measures were taken at the same time to enforce a resumption of specie payments by the State banks. In the succeeding year (1817) a bill was passed for the

total repeal of the internal taxes, and the financial conditions of the war finally disappeared. In 1816 the funded debt of the Union was estimated at one hundred and ten millions of dollars.

During the period now under consideration certain important variations had taken place in the industrial relations of the people. There was a growing tendency to the division of the country into two marked sections,—one the home of free labor and of advancing commercial and manufacturing interests, the other the seat of slave labor and of developing agricultural conditions. Up to 1790 this separation of interests was not clearly evident. The vigorous measures of England had prevented any thriving development of manufactures, while outside the tobacco of Virginia the country produced no agricultural staple of sectional importance. The difficulties attending the preparation of cotton for the market as yet checked the development of that industry. But with the invention of the cotton-gin by Whitney, in 1791, cotton quickly rose to a prominent position among American industries. By the aid of this instrument three hundred and fifty pounds of cotton could be cleaned in a day, as compared with one pound by hand-labor. As a result, the cotton-product augmented with the utmost rapidity. In 1800 the export had reached the seemingly high figure of 19,000,000 pounds. In 1824 it reached 142,000,000 pounds.

Slave labor, which had been growing an undesirable form of industry, now became of high value, and the slaves of the country increased from 657,047 in 1790 to 1,524,580 in 1820. During the same period the total population increased from 3,929,782 to 9,654,596 persons. But, while slavery was thus developing in the South, it was vanishing from the North, and the industrial interests of the country were becoming strikingly differentiated, the char-

acter of the inhabitants of the two sections similarly deviating.

The industrial development of the slave States soon fell behind that of the North. The character of Northern agricultural labor required the division of the land into small farms, which had to be kept up to a high level of productiveness. The system of agricultural labor in the South tended towards increase in size of plantations, in which the soil was systematically exhausted, with no attempt to reproduce its fertility. In the North industry was the business of all, emulation was excited, and the worker was looked upon as the peer of any in the land. In the South labor was despised, the planter gave himself up to social enjoyment, and left the care of his interests to the overseer. The price of land in the South steadily fell behind that of the North.

Manufacture on a large scale had no existence in the Southern States. Their capital was monopolized by agriculture, and the development of the manufacturing industries was left to the North. Thus the distinction between the industries, ideas, and condition of society in the two sections of the country steadily grew more marked, until no two civilized nations could have been socially more unlike. In the South society became divided into three well-marked classes, with little in common between them: the great land-owners, who posed as a veritable aristocracy; the lesser slave-holders, the middle class; and the poor whites, an ignorant and worthless rabble, who were despised even by the slaves. Slavery served as the foundation-stone of these distinctly-separated classes. In the North no such class-conditions existed. The tendency there was towards the breaking down of social distinctions, and to the merging of the population into one general mass, in which every man considered himself the

equal of every other, and all rising or falling below the broad level was an individual—not a class—phenomenon. The diversity of conditions which thus arose between the Northern and Southern sections of the country was destined to have the most vital consequences in its succeeding history, and to give origin to a strife which had its final outcome in the civil war.

While these relations were arising between the Northern and Southern sections of the original States, the conditions for the formation of new States were rapidly appearing in the West. The vast territory east of the Mississippi had been gradually filling up since the era preceding the Revolution. Along the borders of the great lakes and on the banks of the Ohio settlements had early been founded, while Boone and his followers had crossed the Cumberland Mountains and led a tide of emigration towards the fair land of Kentucky. All these formed centres of departure for new pioneer movements, while from the Eastern States emigration pushed northward into Maine and westward into Vermont and central New York, forcing its way ever and ever deeper into the wilderness. McMaster gives a vivid description of the pioneer fever in 1800. Then Kentucky and New York were the Far West. The flood of emigration followed two routes. Of these New-Englanders chose the northern, *via* Albany and along the Mohawk valley to the wilderness beyond. Every trade and profession, except that of seamanship, was represented in these westward-flowing columns. A genuine pioneer fever arose. In front of the tide moved the speculators and land-jobbers, buying up the land, often in whole counties at a time. Then came the restless pioneer, who built his log cabin, girdled the trees, sowed a handful of grain, and then gave way to the impatient longing that possessed him, and moved on, to make way for a second line of set-

tlers, with some money, who purchased his improvements and availed themselves of the results of his labor. These in their turn moved on, leaving the country more habitable behind them. Next came the permanent settlers, the founders of towns and villages, and civilization began to settle upon the land.

The hardships endured by these pioneers were severe. Food was scarce, their huts were rude and ill fitted to bear the inclemency of the winter, but the fever of adventure which possessed them kept them in steady march, the aborigines yielding step by step before them, and civilization, with slower but firmer steps, advancing in their rear.

The other route, that *via* the Ohio, was pursued by the aid of rude boats, which floated down the current with the families and household goods of the hardy emigrants. Towns and villages quickly dotted the fertile borders of this great stream. The savages, who had fiercely assailed the early voyagers, were driven back, and as early as 1794 a line of packet-boats had begun to ply between Pittsburg and Cincinnati. These, which made one voyage a month, were bullet-proof, and carried six small cannon, throwing one-pound balls. After Wayne's victory the stream flowed into the Northwest. In the census of 1800 the population of Ohio Territory was already 45,360, while Kentucky had a population of 220,950.

During the succeeding period the West filled up with remarkable rapidity. As new emigrants from the Old World poured into the Atlantic ports, many of the older settlers made way for them, and followed the routes described into the boundless West. After the purchase of Louisiana the stream crossed the Mississippi, and spread over the broad forest-region beyond. State after State was admitted into the Union, as the Territories gained the requisite population, until by 1820 to the original thirteen

States were added eleven others. All the States now existing east of the Mississippi, with the exception of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Florida, were by that time admitted, while west of that river the two States of Missouri and Louisiana were members of the Union.

It was a rude population that filled up the region that intervened between the pioneer outposts and the older civilized settlements. Drunkenness, gambling, profanity, fighting, and duelling prevailed, and no modern mining camp ever presented a more detestable "reign of terror" than did the frontier settlements of the wild West of that era. One locality is thus described by Peter Cartwright, the celebrated pioneer preacher: "Logan County, Kentucky, when my father moved to it (1793), was called 'Rogues' Harbor.' Here many refugees from almost all parts of the Union fled to escape punishment or justice; for, although there was law, yet it could not be executed, and it was a desperate state of society. Murderers, horse-thieves, highway-robbers, and counterfeiters fled here, until they combined and actually formed a majority." A battle with guns, pistols, dirks, knives, and clubs took place between the "Rogues" and the "Regulators." The latter were defeated, and villany reigned supreme.

On the wickedness of Kentucky there suddenly fell, in the early years of the century, an epidemic of religious conversion so remarkable in character as to call for some attention at our hands. Many of its peculiar features had never before been seen, and none of them have ever appeared since in like intensity. This "awakening" of the people began in 1799, in Logan County, Kentucky, the home of wickedness above described. Several ardent sensational preachers, of the Presbyterian denomination, roused a strong revival spirit in their congregations, which spread widely through the adjoining country. But

it was in the summer of 1800 that the "revival" broke out in the fulness of its intensity. It was in a measure due to a new feature of missionary work, the "camp-meeting." A religious encampment was organized under the trees of the forest, to which people flocked in thousands, while the impassioned appeals of the excitable preachers produced an extraordinary effect. Thousands were convicted of sin, while the camp-meeting idea spread rapidly throughout the whole region, and nearly all the population flocked to these emotional assemblies.

The effect upon those thus "convicted" was of a remarkable character. The wild cries and supplications, the flowing tears and wringing of hands, were followed by a "falling exercise," in which the excited participants fell prostrate to the earth and lay as if dead, displaying an abnormal muscular rigidity. During 1801 the revival grew more extensive and striking in its effects. "All who have left us any account of the scene agree that language is inadequate to describe it. It was sublime, grand, 'awful.' The noise was 'like the roar of Niagara. The vast sea of human beings was agitated as if by a storm.' The tide of emotion seemed to roll over them like tumultuous waves. Sometimes hundreds were swept down almost at once, 'like the trees of the forest under the blast of the wild tornado.' . . . Of the people, some were singing, others praying, others crying aloud for mercy, others still 'shouting most vociferously;' while hardened men, who with horrid imprecations rushed furiously into the praying circles, were smitten down as if by an invisible hand, and lay powerless, or racked by 'fearful spasms, till their companions beholding them were palsied with terror.' At times the scene was surpassingly terrible, and the boldest heart was unmanned. The infidel forgot his philosophy, and trembled till he sank to his knees or fell

to the earth. 'At one time,' says a spectator, 'I saw at least five hundred swept down in a moment, as if a battery of a thousand guns had been opened upon them; and then immediately followed shrieks and shouts that rent the very heavens. My hair rose upon my head, my whole frame trembled, the blood ran cold in my veins, and I fled for the woods.'"*

As time went on, the muscular convulsions attending these "conversions" became more varied and extraordinary. "There was the *falling*, the *jerking*, the *rolling*, the *running*, the *dancing*, and the *barking* exercise. Individuals were seized by these, often in spite of studied resistance, and sometimes almost while the jest or open blasphemy was upon their lips. Dreams and visions, the holy laugh and the holy kiss, helped forward the enthusiasm of the occasion or the grotesqueness of the scene."†

Those affected with the "jerks" were flung about as if hurled from a catapult; arms, head, legs, jerking as if they would be torn from the body; bodies flung against trees or bounding from the ground; hands torn from their grasp upon the branches of the forest; the whole muscular organism of the body seemingly divorced from its ordinary duty, and possessed by a frenzy. In the "holy laugh" the devotees would burst into uncontrollable fits of hysterical laughter. The other "exercises" presented similar indications of muscular convulsion, acting under the influence of emotional mania. Hundreds of conversions took place, affecting often the most hardened sinners of the community. It cannot be said that these "conversions" were always, or even generally, permanent. Many of the converts returned, sooner or later, to their original

* Gillett's "History of the Presbyterian Church," vol. ii. p. 167.

† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 170.

wickedness. Yet the general tone of the community was improved, and Kentucky ceased to be the harbor of the unregenerate to the extent to which it had been several years before.

This revival epidemic spread far beyond the region of the State, particularly into Tennessee, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, where similar phenomena, though on a less extraordinary scale, were presented. Since that era the camp-meeting has been a recognized element in the religious propagandism of the more emotional sects. The wild manifestations just described have been succeeded by less violent exercises, yet camp-meeting and revival conversions still display, though in a milder form, the same tendency to nervous excitement and muscular convulsion.

We may conclude this review with a general statement of the events of importance which occurred during the Monroe administration. James Monroe was elected President in the election of 1816, with Daniel D. Tompkins for Vice-President. Among the more important of the succeeding events was the invasion of Florida by General Jackson. From 1812 difficulties had existed with the Seminole Indians, while many fugitive slaves fled to Northern Florida and amalgamated with these savages. These negroes settled along the Appalachicola River for a distance of fifty miles, defying the American and the Spanish authorities alike. They had been supplied with arms and ammunition by the British, and built a strong fort, which was attacked by Colonel Clinch in 1816. A red-hot ball from a gunboat in the river penetrated the magazine and blew up the fort, only fifty of its three hundred inmates escaping alive. This for a time broke up the negro settlements; but annoyance from the Seminoles continued. In 1818 General Jackson invaded Florida, de-

stroyed the Indian towns, and took forcible possession of the Spanish fort of St. Marks and the city of Pensacola. The diplomatic controversy between Spain and the United States to which this gave rise resulted in the cession of the whole of Florida to the United States, on February 22, 1819. The treaty of cession was ratified on the 19th of February, 1821.

In 1817 piratical settlements which had been formed on Amelia Island, Florida, and at Galveston, Texas, were broken up by the American navy. A more dangerous haunt of pirates, in the West Indies, was attacked in 1822, and over twenty piratical vessels destroyed. In 1823 Commodore Porter sought out and broke up the retreats of the pirates. They afterwards, however, continued their depredations from other hiding-places.

The political state of the country during the Monroe administration differed from its condition before or since. The Federal party had disappeared. The Republican party was yet undivided. Practically there was but one political party in America, and what was known as "the era of good feeling" prevailed. Industrially, however, there came on the land a severe depression. The sudden prosperity that succeeded the war had vanished, and the natural revulsion from abnormally high prices had come. After a brief resumption of specie payments, the banks again suspended. Gold and silver disappeared. The Bank of the United States was in a disorganized condition. It could not collect its debts without a ruinous pressure on business. Ruin and bankruptcy prevailed everywhere. Business and employment sank to a low ebb. In all directions the distress of a financial panic prevailed, from which it took several years for the country to recover.

An interesting event of 1824 was the visit of La Fayette to this country. The venerable visitor was received with

an enthusiasm which has never been surpassed in America. His movement through the country was a continual march of joy and triumph. He journeyed five thousand miles through the Union, everywhere fêted and caressed. Congress voted him two hundred thousand dollars and a township of land, and on his departure from the country he was conveyed to France in an American frigate prepared specially for his accommodation.

During the period in question the problem of internal improvements came up for the serious consideration of Congress. Large subsidies were demanded from the general government for the building of roads and canals and the improvement of rivers and harbors. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe alike denied the constitutionality of such an appropriation of the public funds, yet each of them signed many bills for this purpose. The strife finally came to depend upon the simple question whether or not a certain sum of money should be voted by Congress, the discussion of the constitutional point being avoided. At first both sections of the country favored measures of this character, but eventually the South declared against them. The remark of a Louisiana Congressman in 1817, "Louisiana wants no roads," well expressed the ruling principle of the Southern opposition to internal improvement schemes. Yet large appropriations were made for various purposes, for a canal route across Florida, for a national road from Cumberland, Maryland, to Ohio, for the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio, etc. The greatest enterprise of the time, the Erie Canal, was the work of the State of New York. This was commenced on July 4, 1817, and completed in 1825, at a cost of ten million dollars.

Of the other notable events of the period may be mentioned the founding of the Anti-Slavery Association in

1815, with the establishment of a newspaper in its interests; the formation of the first savings-bank, in Philadelphia, in 1816; the founding of colleges and universities in nearly every State; and the crossing of the ocean by the steamer Savannah, in 1819. John Fitch had operated a steamboat on the Delaware before 1790, while Fulton, in 1807, ran a steamboat more effectively upon the Hudson. The first railroad in America was a short road at Quincy, Massachusetts, worked by horse-power. The first locomotive engine ran from the coal-mines of the Delaware and Hudson Company to Honesdale, Pennsylvania, in 1828.

During the same era began the series of rebellions of the Spanish-American colonies, which finally ended in their independence and the establishment of republican governments in them all. The revolt of Mexico against Spain broke out in 1810. It continued year after year with varying success, the revolutionists now gaining important advantages, Spain now regaining predominance. The independence of Mexico was proclaimed in 1813, while by 1819 the dominion of Spain had again become almost unquestioned. Victoria, one of the last leaders of the revolutionists, was forced to fly for refuge to the mountains, where he remained concealed for several years in a state of the utmost destitution. In 1821 a new insurrection broke out, headed by Iturbide, which was joined by Victoria, Guerrero, and others of the old revolutionists. This attempt was successful: the Spanish were driven out, and a monarchical government was formed, with Iturbide as ruler. He was forced to resign, however, in 1823, and a republican government, on the model of that of the United States, was adopted in 1824, with General Victoria as the first President.

Closely connected with this successful revolution is the famous "Monroe Doctrine," with an account of which this

article may close. America had early in its history "declared its intention" not to interfere in European affairs. But the correlative doctrine, that Europe should not interfere in American affairs, was later in being asserted. The idea appears in the correspondence of Jefferson, but it was first stated as a principle of American politics in the message of President Monroe of 1823. The South American Spanish colonies had achieved their independence at the same time with Mexico, and there was a possibility that the combined powers of Europe might interfere with their liberties in the interest of Spain. Monroe said, in the message in question, "We owe it to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and (the allied) powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." He further declared that the American continents "are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

The "Monroe Doctrine" never received the sanction of Congress. No congress of the republics of America has ever been held. Yet it holds its own as a national tradition which the people of the United States are earnest to uphold. The only decided attempt to act in opposition to its doctrines was in the effort of France to secure Maxi-

milian a throne in Mexico. The unfortunate result of this effort will in all probability prevent any similar action from being taken at any time in the near future. "America for the Americans" is a principle of policy which all Europe is not strong enough to disdain or to subvert.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

H. VON HOLST.

[A consideration of this important subject calls for some preliminary review of the status of slavery in America, of the legislation in regard to it, and of the public feeling concerning it. We have already made several references to the condition of this institution in the colonial period. At the outbreak of the Revolution slavery existed in all the thirteen colonies. Though the fact of its existence was not always recognized by the English government, yet the ministry had been during colonial times steadily in favor of the slave-trade, and vetoed every effort of the colonies to prevent the importation of slaves.

The Quakers were the first to agitate the question of slavery from a moral point of view. By the end of the seventeenth century they had begun to instruct the slaves in religion, and to protest against their importation. During the eighteenth century the emancipation of slaves had become an active measure of the Quakers as a society, not of individuals only, as in other sects. The negro, who had long been classed with domestic animals, now began to be looked upon as a man. Yet no attack upon slavery where it existed was thought of. It was supposed that by stopping the importation of slaves the institution would gradually disappear. At the outbreak of the Revolution there were about half a million slaves in the country. (In 1790 there were 697,897 slaves, of whom 40,370 were held in the Northern States.) The increase of the free population was greater than that of the slave, and it was erroneously argued that the importance of the institution would steadily diminish. Anti-slavery sentiment was not confined to the North, but even made its appearance in the South, while

the political aspect of the question of slavery was confined to importation. The Congress of 1774 adopted resolutions opposed to importation, and in 1776 this prohibition was repeated without opposition. The first step in the opposite direction was made when the passage decrying slave-importation was stricken from the Declaration of Independence.

During the Revolutionary War opinions in favor of emancipation grew in strength in the North, the abolition societies of Pennsylvania became more energetic, and similar societies were founded in the other States. Even in Virginia, in 1788, the importation of slaves was forbidden, and steps were taken in favor of gradual emancipation. But in the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention the Southern delegates showed very clearly that they did not expect or desire any rapid vanishment of the institution. There were two questions to be considered,—the status of the slaves in taxation, and their status in representation. The first of these was decided, by the casting vote of New Jersey, in favor of the exemption of slaves from taxation. The second was decided, in accordance with a compromise measure proposed by Wilson of Pennsylvania, by reckoning five slaves as equal to three freemen in representation. The compromise, as passed, prohibited Congress from forbidding the importation of slaves until 1808. In the debates on these measures a strong division of opinion appeared, but it was based solely on the political and financial interests of the two sections, not on any idea of the morality or immorality of human slavery. In 1787 an act was adopted prohibiting slavery in the territory northwest of the Ohio, but providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves from that territory. The Constitution also contained a provision to the effect that any person lawfully bound to "service or labor" in any State, and fleeing to another State, should be delivered up on demand. However it appeared then, it has since become painfully evident that the slave-holding interest gained decided victories in the formation of the Constitution, and placed the institution of slavery on a solid basis from which it would not easily be overthrown.

In 1789 North Carolina, and in 1802 Georgia, ceded their western territory to the United States, with the proviso that no action should be taken prohibitory of slavery in this territory. The cessions were accepted with this proviso. This was the first step towards extending the dominion of slavery. In 1793 a fugitive-slave law was passed by Congress, which ordered the return of a slave from any State or Territory to which he had fled. A case occurred under this law in 1797.

Four North Carolina slaves had been freed by their masters. Being condemned under a State law to be sold again, they fled to Philadelphia. They were here seized as fugitive slaves, and, though a petition in their favor was presented to Congress, its consideration was rejected by a vote of fifty to thirty-three. A petition from these negroes was brought before Congress three years later, with the same result, and petitions in regard to slavery from the Quakers of Pennsylvania were similarly refused a hearing.

On January 1, 1808, the first day on which Congress had a right to act upon it, a bill forbidding the importation of slaves was passed unanimously. Yet its effect was not prohibitory, since the smuggling of slaves immediately took the place of their open importation. Efforts were made to break up this illicit trade, but with little effect, it being estimated by Southern members that from thirteen thousand to fifteen thousand slaves were annually smuggled into the country. In 1819 Congress declared the slave-trade to be piracy, though none of its participants seem to have been condemned as pirates.

That the number of slaves was rapidly increasing became very evident, and colonization-schemes were proposed to dispose of free negroes and illegally-imported slaves. It was supposed that by this method some amelioration of slavery might be produced, though it was not clear what useful effect could result.

There had by this time arisen a decided distinction between the industrial systems of the two sections of the country. The North had grown more and more distinctively commercial and manufacturing, the South more and more agricultural. In the one slavery became destitute of utility; in the other it appeared to be absolutely essential. The cotton-gin, invented by Whitney in 1793, made cotton-raising the special industry of the South, the cultivation of this staple at once receiving a vigorous impulse. Slave labor, which had begun to grow highly unsatisfactory, at once advanced in importance, and the demand for slaves rapidly increased. Meanwhile, the representation of the Northern States in Congress was steadily outnumbering that of the South. In 1790 the North had thirty-eight representatives to the South's thirty-one. In 1820 the North had one hundred and eight, the South eighty-one. The South was evidently losing power in legislation, and saw the necessity of taking active measures to increase its representation. This could be done only by an extension of slave territory. The Territory of Missouri applied in 1819 for admission as a State, and the question of slavery-extension at once came up in Congress.

An account of the controversy which succeeded, with its vitally-important termination, we extract from Dr. Von Holst's "Constitutional and Political History of the United States," as translated from the German by John J. Lalor and Alfred B. Mason.]

IN February, 1819, the House of Representatives went into committee of the whole over the admission of Missouri as a State. The recommendation of the committee provided in the ordinary manner what was necessary to this end. Tallmadge of New York moved the amendment that the admission should be made dependent upon the two following conditions: prohibition of the further introduction of slaves, and emancipation of all the slave children born after the admission as soon as they reached the age of twenty-five. This motion gave life to the whole strife, and the idea embraced in it remained the essence of the strife until the decision of its most important points. The majority of the House of Representatives voted to make the admission of Missouri as a State dependent upon such a limitation of her power in regard to slavery; but the majority of the Senate decided against this. Both houses insisted on their respective resolves, and Congress adjourned without coming to any final decision. When the question again came up in the next session, the opponents of the so-called "Missouri limitation" found themselves materially aided by a new circumstance. Maine, which had hitherto been a district of Massachusetts, applied for admission as an independent State. The majority of the Senate coupled together the Maine and Missouri bills, and so put before the majority of the House the alternative of admitting Missouri without any limitation, or denying, for the present, the admission of Maine. The House was not yet ready to acknowledge itself so easily beaten. Neither earlier nor later has a struggle been fought out in Congress in which the majorities of both

houses have stood by the decision once arrived at with such stiff-neckedness. The close of the session constantly drew nearer, and an agreement seemed farther off than ever. The whole country was in a state of feverish excitement. At the last moment, in the night between the 2d and 3d of March, 1820, free labor and the principle of nationality yielded to slavery and the principle of State sovereignty. If the matter had affected Missouri alone, the defeat would have been of small practical significance; but two principles had been given up, and these two principles involved the weal and woe of the republic. . . .

The South by no means limited itself to a discussion of the mere question of law, but brought forward a cloud of pleas in justification. It was asserted that the Louisiana Territory, to which Missouri belonged, had been obtained at the cost of the whole Union, and that it would therefore be unjust to deprive the inhabitants of half the Union of the "colonization right;" but this would evidently be the case if they were forbidden to take their property with them. It was said, on the other hand, that slavery would present an impassable wall to immigration from the North. Where labor bears the stamp of shame the free laborer cannot turn his steps. But how could there be hesitation when the choice was to be made between the exclusion of slavery or free labor? The Union should be a nursery of freedom, and not a breeding-place for slavery. The South itself declaimed with the greatest pathos over the curse of slavery. Was it not, then, a self-evident duty to preserve the land from any extension of the curse?

The last part of this argument was repelled with great decision by the majority of Southern members. They affirmed that when it was proposed to allow the importation of slaves from Africa, or from any foreign country, the South would be first and most earnest in protesting

against it. But by compliance with the wish expressed by the South the slave population of the Union "would not be increased by a single soul." Over and over again it was affirmed, with Jefferson in his old age, "All know that permitting the slaves of the South to spread into the West . . . will increase the happiness of those existing, and, by spreading them over a larger surface, will dilute the evil everywhere and facilitate the means of getting rid of it, an event more anxiously wished by those on whom it presses than by the noisy pretenders to exclusive humanity."

[This false reasoning, however, was readily overthrown, it being undeniable that increased subsistence would increase population, while the higher prices arising from a widened market would be a strong impulse towards an increase in the supply of slaves. The question of State rights was next brought in as an element of the debate, it being claimed that the Constitution was but an "international compact," which could exercise no other powers than those originally granted it by the sovereign States, and could impose no conditions on new States not directly specified in that instrument.]

It was indeed said that the slavery limitation did not really withdraw a "fundamental right," but rather did away with a "fundamental wrong." But the Constitution had left to the original States the right of tacitly letting the fundamental wrong stand as a "right" or of making it one. If several States made no use of this prerogative, and if the facts of every day showed it to be more than a destructive fiction that slavery was a "purely municipal institution," yet this did not change the positive right. Slavery eat into the life-marrow of the whole Union; therefore not only considerations of morality, but the highest self-interest of the Union demanded the absolute prohibition of its further extension. But morality and self-interest could not do away with the fact that the

whole Constitution rested upon the foundation of the equality of the members of the Union, and that the original members had full freedom of action in regard to this particular question.

The unconquerable obstacle can be expressed in a single sentence: the fact could not be done away with that the Union was composed of free and slave States, that is, the fact could not be done away with that the attempt had been made to construct out of heterogeneous elements not only a harmonious but a homogeneous whole.

Arguments could not bring the question any nearer to a solution. After the differences of principle between the two parties had been clearly established, the debates served only to excite passion. The slave-holders sought more than ever to make a bridge of threats upon which they could cross to their goal. It is said that Randolph proposed to Clay to abandon the House to the Northern members, and that Clay actually gave the project serious consideration.

Missouri herself took an extremely arrogant position. When Taylor moved, December 16, 1819, to defer the consideration of the bill till the first Monday in February, 1820, Scott, the delegate of the Territory, objected that Missouri would, in this case, go on and organize a State government without waiting any longer for leave from Congress. And this threat of the Territorial delegate against the whole Union was not punished as a piece of laughable insolence. Reid of Georgia declared that Missouri would "indignantly throw off the yoke" and "laugh Congress to scorn." Tyler of Virginia, the future President, asked what would be done if "Missouri sever (herself) from the Union?" And Jefferson, the ex-President, expressed the fear that Missouri would be "lost by revolt." . . .

During the whole struggle the decision had depended only upon a few votes, for a number of Northern representatives had voted, from the beginning, with the South. That it was, nevertheless, so long before the South obtained, by threats and worse means, the necessary number of votes, is a plain proof that an independent and honorable spirit was then much more common among Northern politicians than later. The restriction was finally stricken out by a majority of only three votes.

The results of this defeat were immense; but still more fraught with evil was the second defeat which the North suffered at the same time, and almost, indeed, without a struggle. . . . Since only the northern part of Missouri Territory was to be organized as a State, the southern part, the so-called Arkansas district, had to receive a Territorial government of its own. When the bill concerning this came up for discussion in the House, Taylor proposed an amendment in regard to slavery like the one which Tallmadge had brought up in the case of Missouri. In committee of the whole the amendment was rejected by eighty to sixty-eight votes. In the House it had a somewhat better fate. The first part, which forbade the further introduction of slaves, was rejected by seventy-one to seventy votes; but the second part, which freed slave children born in the Territory upon their twenty-fifth birthday, was adopted by seventy-five to seventy-three votes. With the help of parliamentary rules, however, the question was brought once more before the House. By the casting vote of the Speaker, Clay, the bill was referred back to the committee, and on the same day, in accordance with its report, the previously adopted amendment was rejected by eighty-nine to eighty-seven votes.

The attempt to lay hand upon the peculiar institution in this Territory was regarded by the slave-holders as an

especial bit of spitefulness, because Arkansas was regarded as belonging to the peculiar domain of the South. This opinion influenced some Northern representatives, and to it the easy victory of the South is to be ascribed. . . .

The eighth section of the Missouri act of March 6, 1820, provided "that in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude . . . shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited." This was the second half of the so-called Missouri Compromise, and the responsibility for its adoption does not wholly rest upon a few weak or venal delegates from the North. Only five Northern members voted against it. The North thus gave its approval by an overwhelming majority to the division of the Territories between free labor and slavery. It was indeed only declared that slavery should not be allowed north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, but this was self-evidently equivalent to saying that south of this line no hinderance would be put in the way of the slave-holders. The first suggestion of such a compromise was made by McLane in February, 1819, and he then expressly declared that the Territories should be "divided" between the free and slave States. It was never afterwards denied that this was a fair interpretation of the compromise. The action of the Northern members can be justified from no point of view. Even in mitigation of their fault it can only be alleged that when they had decided to make a bargain the one agreed upon did not seem disadvantageous, provided men did not look beyond the present time. The Louisiana territory—according to the boundaries set to it by the United States—was divided into two nearly equal parts by the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$. But, while the Missouri question was still pending, an agreement

was reached with Spain concerning the boundary-line by which a great part of the southern half was lost to the United States.

[The result of this compromise was that the country was practically divided into free and slave sections, upon a fixed geographical basis. Though there was nothing in the bill to declare that slavery should exist everywhere south of the line of demarcation, it had become a tacit bargain which was not likely to be successfully questioned.]

The South had allowed itself to pursue a purely idealistic policy where European relations were concerned, but where the interest of the slave-holders was touched upon it had followed from the beginning a policy that was not only realistic in the highest degree, but wise. It took good care to demand everything forthwith. What it needed at the moment satisfied it for the moment. It propped the planks securely, and then shoved them just so much farther that it could safely take the next step when it became necessary. It had done this at present, and therefore was contented for the present. Up to this time the free States had always been one more in number than the slave States. Now the latter got Alabama and Missouri into the Union, and the former only Maine. The balance of power in the Senate was therefore fully established. Their territorial possessions were, in the mean time, ample; Florida, just acquired from Spain, Arkansas and the rest of the southern part of the Louisiana territory, balanced for a while the northwest, which, as Charles Pinckney wrote, had been inhabited until now only by wild beasts and Indians. Why express alarm now over things which could become realities only after the lapse of many years? But it did not follow from this that alarm should never be expressed over them. Reid of Georgia had already asked why a partition-line should not be drawn between the two sections "to the Pacific Ocean." . . .

Up to this time the division of the Union into two sections had been only a fact: henceforth it was fixed by law. . . . Each of the two groups inevitably constantly consolidated more and more; and the more they consolidated the more the Missouri line lost its imaginary character. For the first time there was, in the full sense of the term, a free North and a slave-holding South. "Political prudence," as it was hyper-euphemistically called, might lead one to oppose this with the strength of despair; but all political artifices were put to shame by the power of facts. Even the last resource, the erasure of the black line from the map by another law and by judicial decisions, remained without effect: the line was etched too deeply into the real ground. Only one thing could erase it, and this one thing was the destruction of the gloomy power that had drawn it. From the night of March 2, 1820, party history is made up, without interruption or break, of the development of geographical parties.

This was what was really reached when men breathed free, as if saved from a heavy nightmare. The little and cowardly souls congratulated themselves that the slavery question had been buried forever; and yet men never shook themselves free from the Missouri question.

The strife was kindled again by a clause of the Constitution of Missouri by which the legislature was obliged to pass laws against the entry of free colored persons into the State. The North declared that this clause infringed upon the constitutional provision according to which "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." The slaveholders affirmed that free blacks were not to be considered as citizens "in the sense of the Constitution." The Northern Congressmen opposed to this the fact that free blacks

were citizens in some Northern States, and that the clause in question spoke of "citizens of every State." The debate was finally lost in endless arguments over the meaning of the words "citizens" and "citizens of the United States," without reaching any results.

[A compromise was finally proposed by Henry Clay, which permitted the objectionable clause to remain in the State Constitution provided that the State would agree never to pass a law to make it operative. This assurance was given by the Missouri legislature, and the conflict ended.]

Three constitutional questions—two of them of cardinal importance—had been discussed. Men had fought shy of all three for the moment, and for this reason the originators of the compromise claimed that they had postponed the decision to the Greek kalends. From a legal point of view, only one positive result had been reached, and this was on a point concerning which no legal question existed. The Northern majority had indirectly renounced the right of Congress to forbid slavery, as far as the territory lying south of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ was concerned, and it had agreed to this renunciation because the Southern minority had renounced, on its side, its claims to having the question of law involved decided *now* in its favor, provided its concrete demands, which it based upon its interpretation of the Constitution, were complied with.

This was the true nature and substance of the "compromise" which gave Henry Clay the first claim to the proud name of "the great peace-maker."

THE ORDINANCE OF NULLIFICATION.

EDWARD EVERETT.

[One chief cause of political disturbance in America was temporarily removed in the passage of the "Missouri Compromise" measure. Another remained, which was destined to produce no small sum of future trouble. It sprang from the same source as the other, the institution of slavery, and the diversity of interests that necessarily grew up between the free and the slave States. The tendency to territorial expansion, which was due to the exclusively agricultural interests of the cotton-raising States, and to the need of a market for their steadily-increasing slave property, was provided for, for the time being, by the one measure. The remaining cause of controversy was of a different character, and one which could be satisfactorily settled by no compromise. It became then, and to a great extent yet remains, the main controversial feature of American political parties, and is a source of difference of opinion which can be definitively removed only by the growth of a harmony of interests throughout America.

For a long period after the settlement of the American colonies their industries were mainly agricultural. The growth of commercial interests was restricted by English laws. The colonies were permitted to trade only with the mother-country, even their trade with one another being made illegal. And the products of America were largely carried in English ships. After the Revolution this state of affairs ceased to exist. The shipping interests of America rapidly extended, its commerce spread to all parts of the habitable world, and in the early years of the nineteenth century the business of importation and exportation grew with extraordinary rapidity.

Up to this period the main industries of America were in harmony. The excess products of the farm, the forest, and the mine needed a market, which could be found only in foreign lands. Articles of comfort and luxury were demanded in return, and these also had to be sought for abroad. The commercial population of America grew rich through this double duty of carrying home products abroad and bringing foreign products home. Tariff charges, or taxation of imports and exports, militated against both these interests, and were restricted to the absolute demands of revenue. The call for protection

of American productive interests was as yet too feeble to be clearly heard.

Only very slowly did the manufacturing interests of the United States develop, and a home market for the products of mine, forest, and farm grow up. The restrictive policy of England had borne even more severely on this than on the commercial interest. During the long colonial period manufacturing industry languished, discouraged by these restrictions, and at the opening of the Revolution it was of minor importance as compared with the other industries of the country. The establishment of American independence removed the legal restrictions which had been imposed by the jealousy of English manufacturers, but there remained the influence of an overpowering competition. The vast capital, the abundant machinery, and the skilled labor of English workshops depressed, by their unequal rivalry, the infant manufactures of America, the cost of ocean-transportation and the small duty-charges being insufficient to overcome the difference in advantages for production. There was no hinderance to the minor trades, which required labor on the spot, and iron and some other branches of general manufacture made some progress, but the competition was too severe for any rapid growth of the manufacturing industries on this side of the ocean.

The conditions attending the second war with Great Britain changed this state of affairs, and tended to the special encouragement of American manufactures. The commercial restrictions established by England and France, which cut off America from both its buying and its selling market, the embargo and non-intercourse acts, which intensified this difficulty, and the disturbance to commerce by the war that succeeded, had the tendency to force America to consume nearly all its products at home, and to produce by home labor, as fully as possible, the much-needed articles which had previously been received from the workshops of England and the Continent. As a consequence, the manufacturing interests of America grew and diversified with a rapidity that was in decided contrast with the slowness of their preceding development, and by the close of the war a marked and important advance had been made. The manufacture of cotton, for instance, increased from ten thousand bales in 1810 to ninety thousand bales in 1815, nearly enough iron was made to supply the country, and several other branches of manufacture were highly prosperous.

With the close of the war, however, competition again came into active play. The country was flooded with English goods, at a price

and of a quality which American goods could not rival. The high rates of labor which followed the war added to the discrepancy in price, and many American manufacturers were ruined, while the remainder sustained themselves only with great difficulty. Congress was called upon to remedy the evil which had thus suddenly arisen. Protection of American industry against foreign competition became necessary, if our workshops were to continue in existence, and to the old party cries a new one was added, that of protective tariff.

Two interests, as we have seen, were opposed to this, those of agriculture and commerce. Neither these nor manufactures were at first such sectional interests as they later became. Pennsylvania was the State in which manufactures had most developed. Commerce was the leading pursuit farther north, and the tariff of 1816 was carried by the support of several Southern members against New England generally. Yet the rapid development in the South of agricultural industry, and the natural desire to obtain the cheapest goods in return for the products of their fields, without regard to whether they came from the North or from abroad, soon brought non-tariff into prominence as a Southern party principle. In the North opinion was more divided. Its shipping interest was large, and for the advancement of that low tariff seemed desirable. But its manufacturing interest was growing steadily more important, and for the rapid development of that a protective tariff had become a necessity.

That protection of manufactures against undue competition until grown strong enough to stand without support, and the consequent development on American soil of all the industries adapted to its people, climate, and natural conditions, were measures essential to the best good of the country, was theoretically undeniable. But theoretical considerations, and the question of future advantage, have very little to do with the management of human affairs. Men are governed by their present interests, in many cases even where wise enough to see that those interests are opposed to the present or future interests of mankind at large. A tariff controversy therefore at once arose, which developed into what has been denominated a "thirty-year tariff war," since it extended from 1816 to 1846, during which period it was among the most prominent political questions of the country.

The tariff bill of 1816 was a sort of compromise between the conflicting interests. A high duty was advocated on all goods which could unquestionably be produced in sufficient quantity in the United States. A bill was passed in which this classification of dutiable

articles was adopted, but in which protection was admitted as an incidental feature only, and the raising of revenue made the predominant principle in calculating duties. With this compromise nobody was satisfied. New agitation at once began, and in 1820 a bill was passed by the House in favor of an openly protective system. This bill was rejected by the Senate. Yet the protectionists, who were steadily growing in power, would not let the question rest, while the North and the South became definitively divided on this measure, the latter losing its earlier division of sentiment and becoming decidedly in favor of low tariff.

With this change in opinions and national questions came a change in parties. With the end of the war the old Federal party had virtually passed out of existence. The Republican party, which became overwhelmingly predominant, now split into two new parties, the Democratic and the National Republican (which later became known as the Whig party), between which the country was for many years afterwards divided. The tariff for a considerable period remained the leading political problem. The depression of industries which followed the era of high prices and prosperity after the war gave the protectionists a strong weapon, of which they did not fail to make active use. In 1824 the question again became prominent before Congress. The plantation States were now unanimous in their opposition to the tariff measure, yet it passed both Houses by small majorities. In 1828 a new revision of the tariff was made in favor of protection. The fight had now become bitter. The general growth of manufacturing interests throughout the North had given the protectionists the balance of strength, and the free-traders, finding themselves powerless to gain their ends in Congress, began to indulge in treasonable language, claiming that individual States had the right to refuse to submit to laws which worked adversely to their interests.

It was particularly in South Carolina that this doctrine was advocated, and the power of a State to nullify, or to render null and void the operation of a Federal law, was openly advocated by hot-headed Congressmen of that State, who wished to apply this dangerous principle, which was but a step short of secession from the Union, to the tariff bill of 1828. Mr. Hayne of South Carolina, the opponent of Daniel Webster in the most famous oration of the latter, was an ardent advocate of this doctrine, and, while bitterly denouncing New England in that famous controversy, he openly urged on the floor of Congress the doctrine of "Nullification," claiming that any State,

when deeming itself oppressed by a law of Congress considered unconstitutional by the State legislature, had the right to declare this law null and void and to release its citizens from the duty of obedience. The crushing reply which Webster gave to this argument, and the remarkable ability with which he unfolded the principles of the constitutional government of the United States, had little effect on the discontented State, which two years afterwards passed an ordinance of nullification of the tariff laws. A brief account of the manner in which this act of rebellion was crushed by President Jackson we extract from the "Biographical Memoir of Daniel Webster," by Edward Everett, including in our selection a description of other vigorous measures adopted by the hard-headed "hero of New Orleans."]

It may be stated as the general characteristic of the political tendencies of this period that there was a decided weakening of respect for constitutional restraint. Vague ideas of executive discretion prevailed on the one hand in the interpretation of the Constitution, and of popular sovereignty on the other, as represented by a President elevated to office by overwhelming majorities of the people. The expulsion of the Indian tribes from the Southern States, in violation of the faith of treaties and in open disregard of the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States as to their obligation; the claim of a right on the part of a State to nullify an act of the general government; the violation of the charter of the bank, and the Presidential veto of the act of Congress rechartering it; the deposit of the public money in the selected State banks with a view to its safe keeping and for the greater encouragement of trade by the loan of the public funds; the explosion of this system, and the adoption of one directly opposed to it, which rejected wholly the aid of the banks and denied the right of the government to employ the public funds for any but fiscal purposes; the executive menaces of war against France; the unsuccessful attempt of Mr. Van Buren's administration to carry on the govern-

ment upon General Jackson's system ; the panic of 1837, succeeded by the general uprising of the country and the universal demand for a change of men and measures,—these are the leading incidents in the chronicle of the period in question. . . .

In the Twenty-Second Congress (the second of General Jackson's administration) the bank question became prominent [the question of rechartering the Bank of the United States, founded in 1816, and whose charter would expire in 1836]. General Jackson had in his first message called the attention of Congress to the subject of the bank. No doubt of its constitutionality was then intimated by him. In the course of a year or two an attempt was made, on the part of the executive, to control the appointment of the officers of one of the Eastern branches. This attempt was resisted by the bank, and from that time forward a state of warfare, at first partially disguised, but finally open and flagrant, existed between the government and the directors of the institution. In the first session of the Twenty-Second Congress (1831–32) a bill was introduced by Mr. Dallas, and passed the two Houses, to renew the charter of the bank. This measure was supported by Mr. Webster, on the ground of the importance of a national bank to the fiscal operations of the government, and to the currency, exchange, and general business of the country. No specific complaints of mismanagement had then been made, nor were any abuses alleged to exist. The bank was, almost without exception, popular at that time with the business interests of the country, and particularly at the South and West. Its credit in England was solid ; its bills and drafts on London took the place of specie for remittances to India and China. Its convenience and usefulness were recognized in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. McLane), at the same time

that its constitutionality was questioned and its existence threatened by the President. So completely, however, was the policy of General Jackson's administration the impulse of his own feelings and individual impressions, and so imperfectly had these been disclosed on the present occasion, that the fate of the bill for rechartering the bank was a matter of uncertainty on the part both of adherents and opponents. Many persons on both sides of the two Houses were taken by surprise by the veto. When the same question was to be decided by General Washington, he took the opinion in writing of every member of the Cabinet.

But events of a different complexion soon occurred, and gave a new direction to the thoughts of men throughout the country. The opposition of South Carolina to the protective policy had been pushed to a point of excitement at which it was beyond the control of party leaders. Although, as we have seen, that policy had in 1816 been established by the aid of distinguished statesmen of South Carolina [Mr. Calhoun and others], who saw in the success of American cotton manufactures a new market for the staple of the South, in which it would take the place of the cotton of India, the protective policy at a later period had come to be generally considered unconstitutional at the South. A change of opinion somewhat similar had taken place in New England, which had been originally opposed to this policy, as adverse to the commercial and navigating interests. Experience gradually showed that such was not the case. The enactment of the law of 1824 was considered as establishing the general principle of protection as the policy of the country. It was known to be the policy of the great central States. The capital of the North was to some extent forced into new channels. Some branches of manufactures flourished, as skill was acquired

and improvements in machinery made. The coarse cotton fabrics which had enjoyed the protection of the *minimum* duty prospered, manufacturing villages grew up, the price of the fabric fell, and as competition increased the tariff did little more than protect the domestic manufactures from fraudulent invoices and the fluctuation of foreign markets. Thus all parties were benefited, not excepting the South, which gained a new customer for her staple. . . .

Unfortunately, no manufactures had been established in the South. The vast quantities of new and fertile land opened in the west of Georgia, in Alabama, and Mississippi, injured the value of the old and partly exhausted lands of the Atlantic States. Labor was drawn off to found plantations in the new States, and the injurious consequences were ascribed to the tariff. Considerations of a political nature had entirely changed the tolerant feeling which, up to a certain period, had been shown by one class of Southern politicians towards the protective policy. With the exception of Louisiana, and one or two votes in Virginia, the whole South was united against the tariff. South Carolina had suffered most by the inability of her worn lands to sustain the competition with the lands of the Yazoo and the Red River, and to her the most active opposition, under the lead of Mr. Calhoun, was confined. The modern doctrine of nullification was broached by her accomplished statesmen, and an unsuccessful attempt made to deduce it from the Virginia resolutions of 1798. Mr. Madison, in a letter addressed to the writer of these pages in August, 1830, firmly resisted this attempt; and, as a theory, the whole doctrine of nullification was overthrown by Mr. Webster in his speech of the 26th of January, 1830. But public sentiment had gone too far in South Carolina to be checked; party leaders were too deeply committed to retreat; and at the close of 1832 the

ordinance of nullification was adopted by a State convention.

This decisive act roused the hero of New Orleans from the vigilant repose with which he had watched the coming storm. Confidential orders to hold themselves in readiness for active service were sent in every direction to the officers of the army and the navy. Prudent and resolute men were quietly stationed at the proper posts. Arms and munitions in abundance were held in readiness, and a chain of expresses in advance of the mail was established from the Capitol to Charleston. These preparations made, the Presidential proclamation of the 11th of December, 1832, was issued. It was written by Mr. Edward Livingston, then Secretary of State, from notes furnished by General Jackson himself; but there is not an idea of importance in it which may not be found in Mr. Webster's speech on Foot's resolution [the oration in reply to Hayne].

The proclamation of the President was met by the counter-proclamation of Governor Hayne; and the State of South Carolina proceeded to pass laws for carrying the ordinance of nullification into effect, and for putting the State into a condition to carry on war with the general government. In this posture of affairs the President of the United States laid the matter before Congress, in his message of the 16th of January, 1833, and the bill "further to provide for the collection of duties on imports" was introduced into the Senate, in pursuance of his recommendations. Mr. Calhoun was at this time a member of that body, having been chosen to succeed Governor Hayne, and having of course resigned the office of Vice-President. Thus called, for the first time, to sustain in person before the Senate and the country the policy of nullification, which had been adopted by South Carolina mainly under

his influence, and which was now threatening the Union, it hardly need be said that he exerted all his ability and put forth all his resources in defence of the doctrine which had brought his State to the verge of revolution. It is but justice to add that he met the occasion with equal courage and vigor. The bill "to make further provision for the collection of the revenue," or "Force Bill," as it was called, was reported by Mr. Wilkins from the Committee on the Judiciary on the 21st of January, and on the following day Mr. Calhoun moved a series of resolutions affirming the right of a State to annul, as far as her citizens are concerned, any act of Congress which she may deem oppressive and unconstitutional. On the 15th and 16th of February he spoke at length in opposition to the bill, and in development and support of his resolutions. On this occasion the doctrine of nullification was sustained by him with far greater ability than it had been by General Hayne, and in a speech which we believe is regarded as Mr. Calhoun's most powerful effort. In closing his speech Mr. Calhoun challenged the opponents of his doctrines to disprove them, and warned them, in the concluding sentence, that the principles they might advance would be subjected to the revision of posterity.

[His speech was answered by Mr. Webster in a vigorous constitutional argument, concerning whose power and effect we may quote from Mr. Madison: "It crushes 'nullification,' and must hasten an abandonment of 'secession.'"] It will suffice to say here, in conclusion of this subject, that the passage of the Force Bill, and the energetic preparations of the President, deterred the nullifiers. The President had declared in his proclamation that as chief magistrate of the country he could not, if he would, avoid performing his duty; that the laws must be executed; that all opposition to their execution must be repelled, and by force, if necessary. That Jackson meant all that he said no one for a moment questioned, and South Carolina hastened to

"nullify" her hostile action, though still loudly advocating her favorite doctrine of "State rights."

The tariff difficulty, which had led to this controversy, was for the time quieted by another "compromise bill," offered by Henry Clay. This provided for the gradual reduction of duties till 1843, when they were to reach a general level of twenty per cent. This bill was accepted by Calhoun and his friends as a practical concession to their doctrines, and as enabling them to retire with some dignity from the discreditable attitude into which they had forced their State. The second administration of President Jackson, beginning in March, 1833, was mainly devoted to the war on the United States Bank, which had been begun by his veto of the bill to re-charter that institution.]

The removal of the deposits of the public moneys from the Bank of the United States [was] a measure productive of more immediate distress to the community and larger train of evil consequences than perhaps any similar measure in our political history. It was finally determined on while the President was on his Northern tour, in the summer of 1833, receiving in every part of New England those demonstrations of respect which his patriotic course in the great nullification struggle had inspired. It is proper to state that up to this period, in the judgment of more than one committee of Congress appointed to investigate its affairs, in the opinion of both Houses of Congress, who in 1832 had passed a bill to renew the charter, and of the House of Representatives, which had resolved that the deposits were safe in its custody, the affairs of the bank had been conducted with prudence, integrity, and remarkable skill. It was not the least evil consequence of the warfare waged upon the bank, that it was finally drawn into a position (though not till its Congressional charter expired and it accepted very unwisely a charter as a State institution) in which, in its desperate struggle to sustain itself, it finally forfeited the confidence of its friends and

the public, and made a deplorable and shameful shipwreck at once of its interests and honor, involving hundreds, at home and abroad, in its own deserved ruin.

THE SEMINOLE WAR.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS.

[During the early period of the nineteenth century few troubles with the Indians existed, except those that formed a portion of the war with Great Britain. The first conflict with Tecumseh antedated that war, but the principal troubles with the Tecumseh confederacy, and with the Creeks, whom he had stirred up to hostility, were its resultants. The country east of the Mississippi was now so thickly occupied by white settlers as to awe the savages, and the final conflicts in this region came from two thinly-settled territories,—Wisconsin, in the far northwest, and Florida, in the southeast. In 1832 the famous chief Black Hawk roused the Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagoes of Wisconsin to hostilities. As a result, most of the Indians were driven west of the Mississippi, and a treaty of peace was concluded, by which they ceded to the United States a large section of their territory.

The powerful tribal organizations of the Southern range of States, the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, were gradually induced to yield their lands to the whites and to accept new homes in the Indian Territory. The Seminoles of Florida, a tribe said to have been derived from Creek refugees, resisted the efforts made to remove them, and started a war which proved to be the longest and most costly Indian war to which the United States had ever been subjected. Instead of being concluded in one or two severe campaigns, as in ordinary cases, it dragged its slow length along for seven years, until the government almost despaired of subduing its savage adversaries.

Difficulties with this tribe began in 1812, when Colonel Newnan invaded their territory and was forced to retreat with loss. The shelter which they gave to fugitive slaves, and their depredations on the set-

lements, were the causes of the next war, conducted by General Gaines and afterwards by General Jackson, which resulted in the cession of Florida by Spain to the United States in 1819.

The active efforts to settle this new territory which succeeded were partly checked by the presence and the lurking hostilities of the Indians, while the shelter which they gave to runaway slaves in their secret coverts formed another source of disturbance. Finally, in 1833 a treaty was made with the principal chiefs for the removal of the tribe to the Indian Territory. But many of the younger warriors resisted this treaty, which they declared to have been fraudulently obtained. The celebrated Osceola, in particular, displayed indications of determined hostility to the whites.

After evading the execution of the treaty until 1835, with studied dissimulation of their real intentions, in which Osceola acted his part so perfectly as completely to deceive the government agents, while in the mean time they collected all the arms and ammunition possible, they suddenly broke out into hostilities. Major Dade, with a party of over one hundred men, was ambushed, and the whole party killed or mortally wounded. At the same time Osceola and some followers made a sudden attack upon the government commissioner, General Thompson, and massacred him and several of his companions, within a short distance of Fort King. The war thus inaugurated was prosecuted with more or less vigor for several years succeeding. But such were the intricacies of the swamps in which the savages concealed themselves that they proved almost impossible to reach, while they constantly appeared at unexpected places and committed unceasing murders and depredations.

In October, 1836, Governor Call, with nearly two thousand men, penetrated the swamps, and defeated the Indians in two engagements. They received a severe blow in 1837. General Jessup, after several encounters with them, induced some of the principal chiefs to sign a treaty of removal. This treaty was soon broken through the influence of Osceola. But in October this chief, with several others, who had come into the American camp under the protection of a flag, was seized and held prisoner by General Jessup. Osceola was subsequently confined in Fort Moultrie, where he died of a fever in the following January.

In December, 1837, the army in Florida numbered about nine thousand men. Yet against this strong force the Indians still held out. A severe battle took place during this month near Lake Okecho-

bee, in which General Taylor defeated the enemy, after a hard fight in the swamps.

Both sides now changed their tactics. The Indians avoided pitched battles, and confined themselves to unexpected onslaughts, while hiding effectively from the troops. The whites, on the contrary, penetrated the everglades more and more deeply, and gradually broke up the lurking-places of the foe. A warfare of a peculiar and unusual character ensued, a description of the principal features of which we select from Fairbanks's "*History of Florida.*"

THE winter of 1838-39 was spent by the troops in active service in the endeavor to hunt out from their hiding-places the small Indian bands scattered through the country, but with little success, as the Indians, by their better knowledge of the country, were enabled to avoid their pursuers. Occasionally their settlements were reached and broken up, but few of the Indians were seen.

During the operations of this campaign, one hundred and ninety-six Indians and negroes surrendered or were captured and sent West.

The policy of the Indians was now, says General Taylor, to avoid giving battle to regular troops, even in single companies, while at the same time every opportunity was seized to wreak their vengeance on the unarmed inhabitants of the country. Moving by night, rapidly, in small squads, they were able to appear unexpectedly in remote parts of the country, their presence indicated only by their rifles and shrill yells as they approached at daylight the home of some unsuspecting settler. Murders were committed by the Indians within a few miles of Tallahassee and St. Augustine.

Discouraged at the failure of his efforts either to find the Indians or bring them to a stand, General Taylor adopted the plan of dividing the whole country into squares, and placing a block-house, with a small detachment, in each, a part of the number to be mounted. The

officer commanding was to scout his district every alternate day, thoroughly examining the swamps and hammocks to see that they were clear of Indians. The merits of this plan were not tested, as it was never fully carried out.

[It was prevented from being put into operation by the arrival of General Macomb as a government agent to treat with the Indians. He made an arrangement with the chiefs in which they agreed to confine themselves to a designated portion of the south of Florida until other arrangements could be made. It was now announced that the war was at an end, and great joy was felt by the citizens, who prepared to return to their devastated fields. Yet in July, when the season for active operations by the troops had passed, hostilities broke out in all directions, and many murders were committed. Colonel Harney, with a detachment of twenty-five men, was attacked and many of his men killed, while he himself escaped only by swimming to a fishing-boat.]

The prosecution of the war now became extremely discouraging, and the end seemed farther off than three years before. The Indians had become familiarized with the exhibition of military power, and had learned to contemn it. They found themselves at the close of four years still in possession of the country, and powerful for annoyance and to inflict revenge, and their ferocity seemed to increase with its exercise. . . .

The citizens and troops had become so exasperated against the Indians for their repeated massacres of the feeble and the unprotected that a feeling had grown up that they were deserving of extermination, and that any and every means should be used to hunt and capture or destroy them. The great difficulty in so wide an extent of country, abounding in thick hammocks, palmetto and scrubby lands, swamps, islands, and morasses, was to pursue them successfully.

[An attempt was made to run them down with Spanish blood-hounds, but these proved unsuited to the country. The Indians continued their old tactics, coming in, professing friendship, claiming to be tired of the war, receiving food, and suddenly disappearing. New murders would quickly follow. Severely as they had been hunted, the country was so adapted to concealment that they were yet spread through all parts of the Territory.]

Billy Bowlegs, the Prophet, and Hospetarkee, Shiver and Shakes, were the head-men of a large party of Seminoles who occupied the country south of Pease Creek. In December, 1840, Colonel Harney, with a detachment of one hundred men, penetrated this hitherto-unexplored region in canoes, and created much alarm among the occupants of this almost inaccessible portion of the country. Chekika, the Spanish-Indian chief, was overtaken by a detachment of troops and killed, and six of his companions captured and hung on the spot, and, it is said, their bodies were suspended from the trees.

This expedition, and the summary punishment inflicted by Colonel Harney, greatly intimidated the Indians, and they resorted to their old expedient of having "a talk" and expressing a strong desire for peace and amity. As their sincerity could only be tested by the result, their offers were accepted, and they came in and received clothing and subsistence, thus gaining time to plant their fields and devise new measures of security for their families. During the winter and spring, every day they could delay operations against them was important. In April, having accomplished their purposes, they again disappeared, leaving the baffled officers of the government to speculate once more on the uncertainty of Indian professions. . . .

Five years had elapsed, and still the Indians remained, and the government was in the position of almost a suppliant for peace. The efforts of the troops against the

Indians were evaded by the exercise of the utmost caution and cunning. With the sagacity and thorough wood-craft of natives of the forest, while the white soldier was plodding his weary way dependent upon guides or the compass for a knowledge of his route, the Indian stopped behind some clump of bushes or peered forth from some leafy covert and saw his pursuers pass by, and then stole back to attack some point in the rear of the pursuing troops, which had been left unprotected. Ill success brought, naturally, criticism and wholesale censure. Those who knew least were wisest in such matters, and had always a plan which, if adopted, would infallibly succeed. Constant changes of plans, of officers, and of troops made matters worse. An uncertain policy, holding out the olive-branch at one time and fire and sword at another, alternately coaxing and threatening, gave to the Indians a feeling of distrust mingled with contempt. They thought they had been deceived by fair words and false professions, and they used the same means to further their own purposes.

[General Armistead, who had succeeded General Taylor in command, asked to be relieved in May, 1841. He was succeeded by General William J. Worth, the eighth commander since the war opened. It was an excellent choice. He quickly proved himself the man to bring the war to an end.]

No more unpromising field for distinction could have been found than Florida presented at the period when General Worth was assigned to the command. As the number of Indians had been reduced, their tactics had been changed. They no longer presented themselves, as at first, to contest the passage of troops in the open field. They now found that by subdividing into small squads they could distract the attention of the troops, and, by the smallness of their number, find ready concealment and

elude pursuit. They had become accustomed to the mode of conducting military operations, and knew that with the approach of the summer heats they would remain unmolested. Far down in the Everglades there were islands never trodden by the foot of the white man, where they could place their families in security and plant their crops in peace. From these fastnesses they could sally forth on long expeditions for murder and rapine; acquainted with coverts to which they might readily fly in all parts of the country, able to support themselves upon the abundant game, they possessed an unlimited power of doing mischief, and were almost as unapproachable as the birds in the air. Where they had been, was easily ascertained by the bodies of the slain victims and the ashes of destroyed homes, but where they were, it was a matter of impossibility to more than conjecture, and when other means of support failed, or it was desirable to check a too active movement in the direction of their camps, they had the convenient resort of a friendly talk and peaceful overtures, accompanied with an abundant supply of whiskey and rations.

[They had now, however, a man to deal with who was ready to profit by the experience of his predecessors, and who particularly saw the bad policy of going into summer quarters at the approach of the hot weather. He at once organized his troops for a continuous campaign. "Find the enemy, capture, or exterminate," were his orders to his subordinates. Major Childs had captured Coacoochee and several other chiefs and warriors and sent them off to Arkansas. Worth ordered their return, as he wanted to make use of them. Coacoochee, pleased at being returned to Florida, promised to bring in his whole band.]

A simultaneous movement was ordered to take place in each district, for the purpose of breaking up any camps which the Indians might have formed, destroying their

crops or stores wherever they might be found. Boat-detachments ascended the Withlacoochee, found several fields of growing crops, and destroyed them. Every swamp and hammock between the Atlantic and Gulf coasts was visited, and the band of Halleck Tustenuggee routed out of the Wahoo swamp. Many fields were found in the hammocks and islands of the Charl-Apopka country, with huts, palmetto sheds, and corn-cribs. Tiger Tail had a large field upon one of these islands, which was his reliance for the ensuing year, and from a tree in the hammock he witnessed its entire destruction by the troops.

[These operations proved very harassing and destructive to the Indians. Yet they resolved not to surrender, and to put to death any messenger who should approach them. The detachments of troops continued to scour the country for twenty-five days, with the thermometer averaging 86°, and clearly demonstrated their ability to stand a summer campaign. During this time they destroyed thirty-five fields and one hundred and eighty huts or sheds.

General Worth now used his prisoners with good effect. Keeping Coacoochee in chains, he released five of his companions, and sent them out with the message that unless they returned in forty days, with their band, he would hang the chief and all the prisoners on the last day. This measure proved effective. One hundred and eighty-nine Indians came in, seventy-eight of them being warriors.]

Coacoochee was by no means the great warrior his vanity led him to estimate himself. He was vain, bold, and cunning. General Worth had operated upon his weak point by treating him as a great chief. The general now proposed to make still further use of him by procuring his services in bringing in the other bands, which he thought might more easily and certainly be brought to surrender by negotiation than by hostile pursuit. Coacoochee having surrendered, he desired to increase his influence at the West by carrying with him a larger force, and readily consented to use his influence in inducing the rest

to emigrate. At his instance, the active operations of the army were in some degree suspended.

[By these and other means a considerable number of the Indians were secured. Worth now organized a large expedition to attack the stronghold of the Indians in the Big Cypress Swamp. A naval force accompanied the movement.]

The examination of the hiding-places of the Indians was thorough and complete. The troops marched through swamps, deep in mud and water; their boats penetrated every creek and landed upon every island. The Indians, apprised of their presence, fled towards the coast and were seldom seen; extensive fields were found and destroyed, and every hut and shelter burned. The Indians now saw that no hiding-place was secure, and that, with a vigilant and energetic commander like General Worth to deal with, they were to encounter war in a different form from that which they had previously experienced. . . .

The following graphic summary of the Big Cypress expedition is appended to a long and interesting diary kept by an officer: "Thus ended the Big Cypress campaign, like all others. Drove the Indians out, broke them up, taught them that we could go where they could; men and officers worn down; two months in water; plunder on our backs; hard times; trust they are soon to end. . . . Indians asking for peace in all quarters. The only reward we ask is the ending of the Florida War."

[A year more of such operations ended it. All the Indians, with the exception of about three hundred and sixty men, women, and children, had been sent to Arkansas. These, under the chiefs Billy Bowlegs and Arpaika, were allowed to remain, within the district south of Pease Creek, no apprehension of further difficulties being felt.]

The Florida War may be said to have commenced with the massacre of Major Dade's command, on the 28th of

December, 1835, and closed, by official proclamation, on the 14th of August, 1842. It was generally said to have cost the United States forty millions of dollars. . . . Captain Sprague, in his valuable work, states the expenditure at nineteen millions. . . . The number of deaths among the regular troops during the war amounted to an aggregate of fourteen hundred and sixty-six, of whom the very large number of two hundred and fifteen were officers.

THE BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA.

JOHN FROST.

[During the period covered by our last selections events were taking place in another part of America in whose results the United States were destined to become vitally interested. The events referred to were the revolution in Texas and its annexation to the United States. This province of Spanish America had attracted many emigrants from the adjoining States on the east, who showed a strong rebellious sentiment against the oppressive acts of the Mexican government, and in 1835 broke out into open rebellion. A collision took place on October 2 of that year. A war ensued, which continued with varying fortunes until the following year, a Declaration of Independence being made by the Texans on March 2, 1836. On March 6 took place the famous massacre at the Alamo, and on April 21 the battle of San Jacinto, in which the Mexicans were badly beaten, and their general and president, Santa Anna, taken prisoner. He was forced, as a condition to his release, to send the Mexican troops from the country and to decree the cessation of hostilities.

The independence of Texas was soon after acknowledged by the United States, France, and England, and in 1845, in response to a proposal from the Texan authorities, the new republic of Texas was accepted as a State of the American Union. This action gave great umbrage to Mexico, which country had never acknowledged the inde-

pendence of Texas, and in the ensuing year collisions took place between the armies of the two countries, on the border line of the Rio Grande. On May 7, 1846, a conflict occurred on Texan soil, at Palo Alto, and another on the ensuing day, at Resaca de la Palma, in both of which the Mexicans were defeated. These events were quickly followed by a declaration of war on the part of the United States, and an army of fifty thousand volunteers was called for.

Mexico was invaded in several directions, General Kearney marching upon Santa Fé and General Wool towards Chihuahua. The results of these movements were the occupation of the province of New Mexico and the capture of the city of Chihuahua, while Fremont, about the same time, took possession of California.

Meanwhile, General Taylor, with the main army, advanced, and laid siege to the strong city of Monterey. The assault on this city began on September 21, and was repeated on the 22d and 23d, the troops excavating their way through the stone walls of the houses. On the morning of the 24th the Mexican general surrendered. The succeeding events were the capture of Saltillo by General Worth, of Victoria by General Patterson, and of the port of Tampico by the fleet under Commodore Perry.

A new enterprise was now projected by the government at Washington,—the capture of Vera Cruz, and a direct march from the coast upon the city of Mexico. General Scott was sent out to take the chief command, and withdrew most of the regulars under Taylor to aid in this expedition. Taylor's force was now reduced to about ten thousand volunteers and a few companies of regulars. Meanwhile, Santa Anna was at San Luis Potosi, with twenty-two thousand of the best troops of Mexico, prepared to oppose his advance. In early February, 1847, Taylor advanced with part of his force to Agua Nueva, but, learning that Santa Anna was marching on him with his whole army, he fell back to Buena Vista and took position in a strong mountain-defile. He had then with him four thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine men to oppose an army of about twenty thousand.

Santa Anna's march to this point had been a difficult one, through deserts and over mountains, his army almost destitute of food and water. A speedy victory or a hasty retreat was necessary for him, for his men could not long be sustained in the country into which he had advanced. Yet he had a serious task before him, despite the small force of his opponents. The pass through the mountains, which the Americans had seized, was constricted by impassable gullies, till it was

little wider than the road that traversed it, while on each side rose high and precipitous mountains. Three miles distant was the small village of Buena Vista, where the American baggage- and supply-trains were stationed. On February 22 the Mexican army advanced to the southern entrance to the pass, and Santa Anna sent General Taylor a summons to surrender, which was without ceremony declined. Some skirmishing took place, but the main action was reserved for the next day. For the description of it given below we are indebted to Frost's "History of Mexico and the Mexican War."]

At daylight on the 23d of February both armies were in rapid motion. General Taylor had reached Saltillo [about eight miles from the field of battle] on the previous night. Near this place General Minon had manœuvred all day, for the purpose of cutting off the expected retreat of the American army, and perhaps of making an attempt upon the town. In order to be prepared for any emergency, the commander appointed four companies of Illinois volunteers to garrison it, assisted by Webster's artillery. He then proceeded to Buena Vista, and ordered forward all the available troops from that place.

During the night the enemy had succeeded in gaining the top of the mountain, where the skirmish of the preceding evening had taken place, and in passing thence to the left and rear. Under cover of the night about fifteen hundred men had been thrown forward to the same position, and were now prepared for an attack upon the light troops of Colonel Marshall. Here the battle of the 23d commenced at an early hour. Heavy volleys of musketry, succeeded by the roar of cannon and shouts of officers, convinced General Wool that the left wing was to be the principal point of attack. The intrepid riflemen, animated by their commander, received the shock from the immense masses of the enemy with coolness, pouring back, in return, the contents of their unerring rifles. Soon they were reinforced by three companies of the 2d Illinois vol-

unteers, under Major Trail. The troops covered themselves behind ridges of the mountains, in positions perfectly secure from artillery, and where every charge of the enemy was met with advantage.

While this movement was going on, a heavy column moved along the San Luis road against the American centre. As they marched rapidly towards this point, Captain Washington opened his battery from the pass. So terrible was the effect that whole lines seemed to sink at every discharge, and long gaps in the densely-packed mass told of the sweeping entrance of grape and canister. Led on by their officers, the survivors pressed forward, under this withering fire, until within full range of the captain's artillery, when the front ranks recoiled in confusion. The whole column was soon in rapid retreat, leaving behind masses of dead and dying.

These, however, were but preparations for the main attack. During the whole morning, an immense force of infantry and cavalry had been concentrated among the ridges, and under cover of the cliffs, at the foot of the mountain on which Colonel Marshall was posted. They now commenced filing through the gorges towards the large plateau where Brigadier-General Lane was posted, with the 2d Indiana regiment, under Colonel Bowles, the 2d Illinois regiment, and Captain O'Brien's artillery. On gaining the plateau the enemy rushed on in crowded masses, the cavalry pouring through a defile to charge the American infantry. Lane immediately ordered the Indiana regiment forward, supporting it with the artillery. This movement seems to have been unfortunate, as it separated the troops from immediate support at a most critical moment. The enemy perceived the error, and, collecting all their force in one united mass, they charged like an avalanche along the edge of the plateau. The

Indiana troops had not reached the designated position, when Colonel Bowles, who commanded the regiment, without the authority of General Lane, gave the order, "*Cease firing and retreat.*"

[The consequences were unfortunate. The regiment, once in retreat, could not be rallied. A few were brought back to the field, but the most of them retreated to Buena Vista, and were lost to the remainder of the battle.]

Unaware of the loss of his support, O'Brien galloped on until he arrived at the spot pointed out by General Lane. The spectacle from this position was sufficient to appall even a veteran. The hills, on every side, were alive with troops; horsemen were pouring over the ground, and artillery vomiting forth floods of flaming death. The rocks seemed to start and topple with the hurrying multitude, and shouts of officers and men rose, like the roar of ocean, above the din of battle. The intrepid O'Brien saw the vast host rushing towards him, and, with a quick, anxious glance, he turned to see where was his support. He was alone. With three pieces of artillery, and a few cannoneers, he was exposed to the shock of the huge multitude. If he yielded, the battle was lost, and certain destruction seemed inevitable if he stood. Flushed with victory, the heavy columns of cavalry came pouring on from the discomfiture of the Indianians, their horses crowding upon each other, and surrounded on all sides by the dense masses of infantry. Victory was concentrated at this single point, and every eye on the battle-field was bent upon the issue. Amid the deafening uproar, the shrill voice of Wool was heard far in the distance, calling forward the troops of Illinois. The sound seemed to animate O'Brien's little company, and they prepared for the fearful encounter.

By this time most of the cannoneers had been killed or disabled, the captain had received a wound in the leg and two horses had fallen under him. Three thousand Mexican infantry were pouring showers of musketry upon him, while a battery three hundred yards to his left was vomiting forth grape and canister. Suddenly he opened his fire. Companies melted before him; alleys and gaps opened along all the enemy's front, and the unerring shot rattled upon their cannon, sweeping artillery, man, and horse to destruction. Struck with horror, the front columns wavered and fell back. Elated with success, O'Brien advanced about fifty yards, and continued his fire. The van paused, rallied to receive reinforcements, and again moved forward. In rapid succession one discharge after another was hurled against them; but each gap was filled as soon as made, and in one desperate mass they poured towards the captain's position. Finding it impossible longer to resist their progress, he gave them his last discharge, and withdrew to the American line.

On arriving here he had not a cannoneer to work the guns, all having been killed or disabled. It being impossible to replace them, he was compelled to apply to Captain Washington, who furnished him with two six-pounders. With these he again ascended the plateau, where he came in contact with a strong line of infantry and cavalry, covered by a heavy battery. He was himself supported by a body of infantry posted in two ravines on his right and left. The remainder of the American infantry and artillery were engaged with the enemy about half a mile to his left. O'Brien kept the Mexicans in check, while the troops to the left drove the body opposed to them round the head of the ravine, where they united with those opposed to the captain. About this time the latter received orders to advance, and at the same time

the enemy, finding themselves strong by their junction, came on to meet him.

The position of affairs was most critical, for if the Mexicans succeeded in forcing the American position the day was theirs. There being no artillery opposed to them but O'Brien's section and another piece, it was all-important for him to maintain his ground until the guns on the left could come round the ravine to join him. He determined, therefore, to hold this position until the enemy reached the muzzles of his guns. The struggle was a terrible one. Each party put forth its utmost strength, and the feelings of the soldier were wound to a pitch of enthusiasm that made him reckless of death itself. The enemy sank down by scores, and a body of lancers, charging the Illinois troops, were compelled to fall back. Still the main body rushed on, shaking the mountain-passes with the trampling of their armed thousands, and shouting above the uproar of battle. The wounded and dying were crushed in their furious charge, and soon their horses were within a few yards of O'Brien's pieces. Here they received the last discharge, and as the driving hail smote their columns, a groan of anguish followed, and horse and rider sank down and rolled over the rocky surface in the arms of death. It was a dreadful moment, and as the columns swayed to and fro beneath the shock, and then sternly united for the headlong leap, companies that were mere spectators grew pale for the result. Although O'Brien was losing men and horses with alarming rapidity, he gave orders again to fire, when suddenly the few recruits who were fit for duty lost their presence of mind, and, with all his efforts, they could not be kept to the guns. Mortified to find the fruits of his gigantic efforts torn from him, the captain rode round his guns with startling quickness, urging his followers by voice and action ; but it was

in vain; no man on the field could have rallied them; and after staying at his post to the last, he retired slowly and sullenly. He lost his pieces, but by his gallant stand he had kept the enemy in check long enough to save the day.

About the same time the 2d Illinois regiment, under Colonel Bissell, having been completely outflanked, was compelled to fall back. Colonel Marshall's light troops, on the extreme left, came down from their mountainous position and joined the American main army. Masses of cavalry and infantry were now pouring through the defiles on the American left, in order to gain the rear north of the large plateau. At this moment General Taylor arrived upon the field from Saltillo. As the Mexican infantry turned the American flank, they came in contact with Colonel Davis's Mississippi riflemen, posted on a plateau north of the principal one. The 2d Kentucky regiment, and a section of artillery, under Captain Bragg, had previously been ordered to this position from the right, and arrived at a most important crisis. As the masses of the enemy emerged from the defiles to the table-land above, they opened upon the riflemen, and the battle soon became deeply interesting. The lancers meanwhile were drawing up for a charge. The artillery on each side was in an incessant blaze, and one sheet of sparkling fire flashed from the small-arms of both lines. Then the cavalry came dashing down, in dense columns, their dress and arms glittering in the sun, seemingly in strange contrast with their work of death. All around was clamor and hurry, drowning the shouts of command and groans of the dying. Davis gave the order to fire; a report from hundreds of rifles rang along his line, and mangled heaps of the enemy sunk to the ground. Struck with dismay, the lacerated host heaved back, while in mad confusion horse

trod down horse, crushing wounded and dying beneath their hoofs in the reckless rushings of retreat. The day was once more saved.

At the same time the Kentucky regiment, supported by Bragg's artillery, had driven back the enemy's infantry and recovered a portion of the lost ground. The latter officer then moved his pieces to the main plateau, where, in company with Captain Sherman, he did much execution, particularly upon the masses that were in the rear. General Taylor placed all the regular cavalry and Captain Pike's squadron of horse under the orders of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel May, with directions to hold in check the enemy's column, still advancing to the rear along the base of the mountain. May posted himself north of the ravine through which the enemy were moving towards Buena Vista, in order to charge them as they approached that place. The enemy, however, still continued to advance, until almost the whole American artillery were playing upon them. At length, unable to stand the fearful slaughter, their ranks fell into confusion, some of the corps attempting to effect a retreat upon their main line of battle. To prevent this, the general ordered the 1st dragoons, under Lieutenant Rucker, to ascend the deep ravine which these corps were endeavoring to cross, and disperse them. The squadron, however, were unable to accomplish their object, in consequence of a heavy fire from a battery covering the enemy's retreat.

Meanwhile a large body of lancers assembled on the extreme left of the Americans, for the purpose of charging upon Buena Vista. To support that point, General Taylor ordered forward May, with two pieces of Sherman's battery. At the same time, the scattered forces at that hacienda were collected by Majors Munroe and Morrison, and, uniting with some of the troops of the Indiana regi-

ment, they were posted to defend the position. Before May could reach the village, the enemy had begun the attack. They were gallantly opposed by the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry, under Colonels Marshall and Yell. The shock was a heavy one. Colonel Yell fell at the head of his column, a lance entering his mouth, wrenching off his lower jaw, and shattering the side of his face. The Kentuckians lost Adjutant Vaughan, a young officer of much promise. The enemy's column was separated into two portions, one sweeping by the American *dépôt* under a destructive fire from the Indiana troops, until they gained the mountain opposite, the other portion regaining the base of the mountain to the west. Lieutenant-Colonel May now reached Buena Vista, and, approaching the base of the mountain, held in check the enemy's right flank, upon whose masses, crowded in the narrow gorges and ravines, the artillery was doing fearful execution.

The position of that portion of the Mexican army which had gained the American rear was now so critical as to induce the belief that it would be forced to surrender. At the moment, however, when the artillery was thinning its ranks, and May, after much manœuvring, was about charging their flank, a white flag was observed approaching the American quarters, and General Taylor ordered the firing to cease. The message was simply a demand from General Santa Anna, requesting to know what the American general wanted. General Wool was sent to have a personal interview with the Mexican general. On reaching the Mexican lines, Wool was unable to stop the enemy's farther advance, and returned to head-quarters. The object of the Mexicans had, however, been accomplished,—their extreme right moving along the base of the mountain and joining the main army. . . .

The roar of artillery, which had lasted from before sun-

rise, now partially ceased on the principal field, the enemy apparently confining his efforts to the protection of his artillery. General Taylor had just left the main dépôt, when he was unexpectedly recalled by a heavy fire of musketry. On regaining his position a stirring scene was presented. The Illinois and 2d Kentucky cavalry had been attacked in a rugged defile by an overwhelming force of both cavalry and infantry, and were now struggling against fearful odds. Could the enemy succeed in defeating these troops, they might renew the main attack with great advantage, and perhaps gain the day. To prevent the catastrophe, Captain Bragg, who had just arrived from the left, was immediately ordered into battery. Feeling how important was every moment, that brave officer abandoned some of his heaviest carriages, and pushed forward with those that could move most rapidly. Gaining a point from which they could be used, he placed them in battery and loaded with canister. His position was one of imminent peril. The supporting infantry had been routed, the advance artillery captured, and the enemy, flushed with victory, were throwing their masses towards him. He appealed to the commanding general for help. None was to be had; and, nerving himself for his terrible duties, he returned to the battery, and spoke a few low, hurried words to his men. Silently but firmly they gathered round their pieces, and awaited orders. The commanding general sat on horseback, gazing with thrilling intensity upon that handful of troops. After all the losses and triumphs of the day, victory had eluded their grasp, to hang upon the approaching struggle.

The cavalry were almost near enough to spring upon his guns, when Bragg gave the order to fire. Suddenly they halted, staggered a few paces, and then closed for the charge. The shouts of their supporting infantry fol-

lowed the roar of artillery, and they again advanced. The cannoneers had marked the effect, with feelings too intense to admit of outward expression, and, rapidly reloading, they again poured forth a shower of grape. The effect was fearful; and General Taylor, as he beheld the bleeding columns, felt that the day was his own. A third discharge completed the rout. Discipline gave way among the enemy to the confused flight of terrified hosts, as, pouring through the rugged passes, they trod each other down in their hurried course. One wild shout went up from the American army, broken at short intervals by the thunder of Bragg's artillery. . . .

In the retreat of the enemy, a portion of the American infantry pursued them through a ravine so far that they got out of supporting distance. On seeing this, the Mexicans suddenly wheeled round and attacked them. The infantry were in their turn driven back, taking the course of another ravine, at the end of which a body of the enemy were waiting to intercept them. Fortunately, while the cavalry were pursuing, they came within range of Washington's battery, which, opening upon them with grape, drove back the column in confusion and saved the exhausted fugitives.

This was the last struggle on the well-fought field of Buena Vista. For ten hours the battle had raged with unmitigated fury, and yet, strange to say, each army occupied the ground that it had early in the morning. As night crept among the rocky gorges, the wearied soldiers sank down on their arms upon the field. Although the air was excessively cold, the Americans slept without fires, expecting a renewal of the attack early on the following morning. The night was one of horror. On every rock, and in every defile, piles of dead and wounded lay, the latter writhing in torture, their wounds stiff and clotted

with the chill air, while their piercing cries for aid, and supplications for water, made the night hideous.

[The expected renewal of the assault by the Mexicans the next day was not made. Santa Anna found his men worn out with fatigue, burning with thirst, and starving for want of food. And they had suffered too severely in the battle to be in a condition to endure another conflict. Before daylight he was in full retreat, leaving the well-won field to the victorious Americans. After their failure to carry the American position, desertion became so extreme in the Mexican host as to threaten to disorganize the army, and another battle would have been ruinous. The losses in this conflict on the American side were two hundred and sixty-seven killed, four hundred and fifty-six wounded, and twenty-three missing. Santa Anna stated his loss at fifteen hundred, but it was probably greater.

It may be remarked here that the task of Santa Anna in this battle was one that fully overcame the disparity in numbers. The pass of Angostura, occupied by Washington's battery, is one of the strongest in Mexico, and capable of being defended by a small party against great odds. The American right wing was posted with one flank against the precipitous mountains and the other resting on impassable ravines, while it could only be approached over broken and exposed ground. The plateau which formed the key of the American position was high and commanding, and could be reached only through intricate windings among the rock ledges.

There was no other victory of the war received with such enthusiasm in the United States, and Buena Vista carried General Taylor to the Presidency. It ended the war in that region of Mexico, Santa Anna being now called southward, to defend the capital from the projected invasion of General Scott, by way of Vera Cruz.

The remaining events of the war were a constant series of successes. General Scott, with the army under his command, landed near Vera Cruz on March 9, 1847. He forced this city to surrender on the 27th, and on April 8 began an overland march towards the city of Mexico. On April 18 Santa Anna was seriously repulsed at Cerro Gordo, and in August the American army reached the immediate vicinity of the Mexican capital. On the 18th the formidable Mexican intrenchments at Contreras were carried by assault, and on the same day the important post of Churubusco was carried. On September 8 the fortress

known as the Molino del Rey was captured, and on the 13th the very strong fortifications on the hill of Chapultepec were carried by an impetuous and daring assault.

On the same day an advance on the city took place, and by nightfall the American troops were within its gates. The capture of the city was fully achieved during the ensuing day. This result virtually ended the war, though some minor military movements followed. A treaty of peace was signed on the 2d of February, 1848, and was ratified on May 30. Under its provisions the United States gained a large accession of territory, embracing all New Mexico and Upper California. In return the United States surrendered all other conquered territory, paid Mexico fifteen million dollars, and assumed all debts owed by Mexico to American citizens.]

EVENTS PRECEDING THE CIVIL WAR.

CHARLES MORRIS.

THE remaining events of the social and political history of the period covered by the preceding selections are too numerous to give each of them separate treatment, in the limited space at our command. It therefore becomes necessary to deal with them in a rapid review, as preliminary to the momentous historical era of the Civil War. Among the most important of these events was the financial panic of 1837, a startling result of the unbounded speculation, and the executive experiments on the finances, of the preceding epoch. The first era of bank-expansion in the United States was due to the abrogation of the charter of the National Bank in 1811, and to the business activity which followed the close of the second war with Great Britain. A second National Bank was instituted in 1817. The undue extension of banking facilities which existed during this period was followed in 1819 by a necessary

contraction. The bank circulation fell from \$110,000,000 in 1816 to \$65,000,000 in 1819. Financial distress and a general depression of industry succeeded, from which the country did not fully recover for several years.

When Jackson became President, in 1829, he very quickly manifested an enmity to the National Bank, which he declared to be corrupt, dangerous, and unconstitutional. His first hostile measure was to remove from it the government deposits, which he distributed among the State banks. This measure produced a storm of opposition, greatly disturbed the conditions of business, and caused general distress in the industrial community. But Jackson was unyieldingly obstinate in his opinions, and his hostility to the bank was next displayed in a veto of the bill to renew its charter, which would expire on March 3, 1836. The State banks took advantage of this condition of affairs to expand greatly their discounts, new banks came rapidly into existence, and the banking facilities were enormously increased, the discounts augmenting from \$200,000,000 in 1830 to \$525,000,000 eight years afterwards.

A series of wild speculations attended this expansion: foreign goods were heavily imported, and enormous operations took place in government lands, in payment for which paper money poured profusely into the treasury. Such was the state of affairs at midsummer of 1836. To check these operations a "specie circular" was issued by the Secretary of the Treasury, which required payment for government lands to be made in gold and silver after August 15, 1836. The effect of this series of executive actions, and of the fever of speculation which existed, was disastrous. The specie which was expected to flow into the treasury in payment for public lands failed to appear. The banks refused discounts and called in their loans. Property was everywhere sacrificed, and prices generally

declined. Then, like an avalanche suddenly falling upon the land, came the business crash and panic of 1837, which caused the financial ruin of thousands. During the first three weeks of April two hundred and fifty business houses failed in New York. Within two months the failures in that city alone aggregated nearly one hundred millions of dollars. Throughout the whole country the mercantile interests went down with a general crash, involving the mechanic, the farmer, even the humblest laborer, in the ruinous consequences of the disaster. Bankruptcy everywhere prevailed, forced sacrifice of valuable merchandise was the order of the day, no less than eight of the States partially or wholly failed, even the general government could not pay its debts, trade stood still, business confidence vanished, and ruin stalked unchecked over the land.

The panic of 1837 was not due solely to the causes above enumerated. Many influences converged to produce this result, and to give rise to the fever of speculation which was its immediate predecessor. As one of its results the banking system of the country suffered a general collapse. Out of eight hundred and fifty banks, three hundred and forty-three closed entirely, sixty-two failed partially, and the system of State banks received a shock from which it never fully recovered. The compromise tariff of 1833, through which the tariff was to be annually reduced until it should reach a general twenty per cent. level in 1842, added to the distress, and recovery only fairly took place after 1842, in which year a new tariff bill was passed, imposing a thirty per cent. ad-valorem rate on all imported goods except in certain special cases. In 1846 a low tariff bill was again passed, which continued in force until 1860, when in the Morrill tariff bill was resumed the protective principle which has been ever since maintained.

During the era in question the settlement of the broad territory of the West had been taking place with great rapidity, the pioneer emigration, which had long since crossed the Alleghanies and spread throughout the eastern valley of the Mississippi, now extending widely westward of that river towards the infertile barrier of the Rocky Mountains. The movement had even reached the Pacific, through the incitements of the fur-trade, and of certain advantages offered by the rich plains of California. Yet the American population of this region was but sparse in 1848, in which year California became a part of the United States, as a result of the Mexican War. Emigration thither now proceeded more rapidly, while the neighboring territory of Utah became the land of refuge of the strange sect of Mormons, who had made their way thither in 1846 and founded Salt Lake City in 1847. The settlement of the Pacific region, however, must have taken place very slowly had it not been for the discovery of gold in the mountain region of that territory. The cry of "Gold," that rang far and wide throughout the land in the summer and autumn of 1848, gave rise to such a fever of emigration as the world has seldom known. Over land and over sea thousands of eager treasure-seekers flocked to this new land of promise, and within one year of American occupation the land filled up more than it had done in three centuries of the drowsy Spanish rule.

On January 19, 1848, James W. Marshall discovered the glittering yellow fragments, which gave rise to this furore of emigration, in a mill-race which he was excavating for Captain Sutter, at Coloma. Investigation proved that gold existed in great abundance throughout a broad region, and ere a year had passed thousands of fortune-seekers were already actively at work, washing treasure out of the sands of ancient rivers, whose waters had ceased to

flow ages before. The story of the "gold rush" to California is one of extraordinary interest, and the scenes to which it gave rise are almost without example in the annals of mankind, except in the closely similar case of the Australian gold discovery. A few years, however, began to exhaust the "placer," or surface, diggings of California, and new methods of mining, requiring considerable capital, had to be resorted to. The "hydraulic process" was invented in 1852, the "high gravels" being broken down by the force of powerful jets of water, conducted through pipes from mountain streams and lakes. Quartz mining also came into vogue, the metallic veins being worked and the gold extracted by difficult and costly processes. Rich deposits of silver were also discovered, particularly in Nevada and Colorado. The era of individual fortune-hunting was over, but enormous wealth still lay buried in the rocks of the region, and emigration proceeded with unexampled rapidity, peopling the Pacific Territories in a ratio far exceeding anything ever experienced in the settlement of the Atlantic slope. Agriculture slowly succeeded the mining fever, the rich soil of California proving to hold a wealth more valuable than that contained within its rocks. The vast forests of the Pacific coast ranges also proved treasure-mines. In consequence of these various inducements to population the Far West has, within forty years, become the home of an extensive and flourishing population. State after State has been added to the Union in that distant region, railroads and telegraphs have been stretched across the continent, and in response to the magic cry of "Gold" an immense and thickly-peopled domain has been added to the territory of the United States of America.

There is one further phase of American history, to which our attention is particularly called, from its mo-

mentous importance as the producing cause of the Civil War. This is the development of Abolitionism, and the bitter controversies to which it gave rise. The sentiment in favor of slave-manumission died away in great measure after the passage of the Missouri Compromise Bill in 1820, and, though it was kept feebly alive, it failed to become a question of national importance until after the close of the Mexican War. A feeling in favor of "gradual abolition" existed in some measure both South and North until 1830, though no steps were taken towards its realization. The doctrine of immediate abolition was first openly promulgated by William Lloyd Garrison, in *The Liberator*, a newspaper of which the first number was issued on January 1, 1831. Anti-slavery societies were soon after formed, but the cause which they advocated met with great opposition in the North during the succeeding twenty years, the meetings of the abolitionists being violently broken up, and their lives occasionally endangered. The political strength of the abolition idea was first made manifest in 1844, when the candidate of the so-called Liberty party polled 62,300 votes, enough to defeat Clay and make Polk President of the United States.

It was, however, the close of the Mexican War, and the consequent large addition of territory to the United States, that brought the question of slavery-extension prominently before Congress, and opened that series of hostile debates which ended only with the Southern declaration of war. In the discussion of the treaty with Mexico, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania proposed to add to the appropriation bill the proviso that slavery should be prohibited in any territory which might be acquired in consequence of the war. This "Wilmot Proviso" was defeated in the Senate, but was received with much approbation in the North. The opponents of slavery organized themselves, in 1848, into

the Free Soil party, which in the ensuing Presidential election polled 300,000 votes for its candidate, Van Buren. It sent Charles Sumner and Salmon P. Chase to the Senate, and a considerable number of members to the House of Representatives.

The rapid settlement of California and the West soon became a disturbing element in the situation. The people of Oregon organized a provisional Territorial government, from which slavery was excluded. A convention held in California in 1849 adopted a similar measure, and an application was made to Congress for admission of the Territory as a State with this proviso in its Constitution. A fierce debate followed, the Southern extremists insisting on the organization of California, Utah, and New Mexico, as Territories, with no restriction as to slavery. The Free Soilers and many others demanded that California should be admitted as a State, and that Territorial governments prohibiting slavery should be given to Utah and New Mexico. The dispute ended in a compromise bill proposed by Henry Clay, and accepted by Congress, in whose measures California was admitted as a free State, Utah and New Mexico organized as Territories without restriction as to slavery, the sale of slaves in the District of Columbia prohibited, and provision made for the return of fugitive slaves from Northern States.

For a while everything seemed settled: the compromise was spoken of as a finality, and a state of public feeling prevailed which greatly discouraged anti-slavery agitation. In the succeeding Presidential election the Free Soil ticket received but 151,000 votes, and the party ended its political existence, to be absorbed in 1855 into the Republican party, a new and strongly-consolidated organization, which was destined to become famous in the succeeding history of the country.

Yet the Fugitive Slave proviso of the compromise bill proved a rankling thorn which gave abundant activity to the anti-slavery sentiment in the North. For years previously slaves had been at intervals escaping to the free States, where they found numerous friends to secrete them or assist them in their journey to the safe soil of Canada. The organization for the aid and secretion of fugitive slaves in time became very complete, and received the name of the "underground railroad." Few slaves who crossed the border-line were recovered by their masters, partly from the efficient measures of concealment taken by their friends, and partly from the disinclination of the State and local authorities to assist pursuers, and the legal obstructions which were occasionally placed in their path.

Massachusetts passed a law to secure to such fugitives trial by jury. Pennsylvania passed a law against kidnapping. A decision was finally made in the United States Supreme Court which gave to the owner of a slave authority to recapture him in any State of the Union, without regard to legal processes. Yet little benefit was gained by the South from this decision. The States readily obeyed the mandate against interference. Some of them forbade their courts to hear claims of this character, and laid severe penalties on officers who should arrest or jailers who should detain alleged fugitive slaves. The difficulty thus produced was obviated in the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Commissioners were appointed by the United States to hear such cases, and marshals and their deputies were required to execute warrants for the arrest of fugitives, with a penalty equal to the full value of the slave if they should suffer one to escape after arrest. Other features of this bill increased its stringency, and under its provisions there was little hinderance to a free negro being kidnapped and taken South as a slave. The commissioners

in certain cases refused to listen to evidence in favor of the freedom of the alleged fugitive.

A law thus enforced could not fail to arouse indignation, even in those devoid of anti-slavery sympathies. Cases of the arrest of fugitives took place in many parts of the Northern States, in which the requirements of ordinary law and humanity were disregarded, and the captives carried South with little or no effort to prove that they were the persons claimed as fugitives. Hundreds, in all parts of the North, who had viewed the controversy with indifference and looked upon the abolitionists as a band of wild radicals, had their sympathies awakened by cases of this kind occurring in their own neighborhoods; and there can be no doubt that the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, while it saved to the South a certain portion of its flying property, greatly added to Northern hostility to slavery, and backed up the ardent abolitionists with an extensive body of moderate sympathizers.

In December, 1853, a bill was introduced into Congress by Mr. Dodge, a Senator from Iowa, for the organization of the Territory of Nebraska. Mr. Dixon, of Kentucky, proposed, as an amendment to this bill, to abrogate the Missouri Compromise and permit the citizens of the Southern States to take and hold their slaves within any of the new Territories or the States formed therefrom. On January 23, 1854, the bill was reported back from committee by Mr. Douglas, modified to propose the formation of two Territories, the southern to be called Kansas and the northern Nebraska. It retained the principle of the Dixon amendment, and for four months thereafter a hot debate was maintained in the halls of Congress. Despite the utmost efforts of Northern members, and the numerous petitions from the best element of the Northern people, the bill was carried by the South, the compromise

measure which had been accepted as a finality for thirty-five years flung to the winds, and the whole territory from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains thrown open as a new field of battle between the advocates of slavery and freedom. In 1857 the South gained another victory, in the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, in which the Missouri Compromise was declared to be unconstitutional, the action recently taken by Congress being thus sustained by the highest tribunal in the land.

The truce between slavery and freedom which had been maintained for thirty-five years was broken. The war was about to recommence with tenfold energy. The events above described had very greatly strengthened the abolition party in the North, and all other questions of public policy grew unimportant before the imminent demands of this. A reorganization of parties became necessary. The old Whig party had received its death-blow. The Democratic party divided into two sections, on new lines. Finally the Free Soilers and a section of the Whigs and Democrats fused together in opposition to the new aggressive attitude of slavery, and the Republican party came into existence, while the pro-slavery members of the old parties joined hands as a modified Democracy. The country was drifting it knew not whither. The armies were in the field, arrayed for legislative battle, and the hot and bitter sentiment that was widely manifested was full of the elements of actual war.

The first phase of hostility declared itself on the soil of Kansas, organized as a Territory on May 30, 1854. The decision that slavery might be introduced there led to warlike conflicts between settlers from the Northern States and armed parties from the adjoining slave State of Missouri. An organized effort had been made by the anti-slavery societies of the North to secure Kansas, by

colonization with emigrants of abolition sentiments. Missouri made an equally strong effort to secure it to slavery, but rather by violence than by colonization. An armed band of two hundred and fifty Missourians marched upon the settlers at the new town of Lawrence, and threatened to drive them out at the point of the bayonet if they did not immediately strike their tents and leave the Territory. They refused to do so, and their assailants retired, without carrying out their threat. But this battle of words was followed by a series of sanguinary assaults upon the settlers, in which a state of actual war was inaugurated.

An election for a Territorial legislature was ordered in 1855. The slave-holders of Missouri and Arkansas at once adopted a new expedient. They entered the Territory in large bands, took possession of the polling-places, drove the actual settlers from the polls, and cast their votes in favor of pro-slavery candidates. Though the settlers numbered but 2905 voters, there were cast at this mockery of an election 6320 votes. In 1857 the pro-slavery legislature met, formed a Constitution, submitted it to the people, and ratified it at an election in which no votes in opposition were allowed or counted. This fraudulent operation was endorsed by the administration, but it was soon proved that the Free State settlers of Kansas were too greatly in the majority to be thus dealt with. A convention was held at Wyandotte in 1859, in the election of whose members, though many fraudulent pro-slavery votes were again polled, the Free State party gained a decided majority. A Constitution was adopted in which slavery was prohibited. This was submitted to popular suffrage, and carried by a vote of 10,421 for to 5530 against. In 1860, after the withdrawal of the Southern members from Congress, the State was admitted under this Constitution.

The story of abolition may here be briefly ended. From being a Congressional issue it had been made a warlike issue in Kansas. This violent method was carried to the halls of Congress, where, in May, 1856, Charles Sumner delivered one of his most vigorous and telling speeches on "The Crime against Kansas." As a result he was assailed by Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina, knocked down with a heavy cane, and beaten so severely that he never fully recovered from the effects. This cowardly and outrageous assault added greatly to the earnestness of abolition sentiment in the North, and had its share in arousing that fanatical outbreak in which John Brown seized Harper's Ferry and attempted to excite a slave-insurrection. This event will be considered at length in a succeeding article.

In the Presidential election of 1860 the rapid growth of anti-slavery sentiment in the North was evidenced in the election of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, to the Presidency, while the bitterness of hostile feeling in the South was indicated in the secession movements that quickly followed. Though it was declared by Congress, after the outbreak of the war, that hostilities were not prosecuted with any intention of interfering with the "established institutions" of the seceding States, yet it proved impossible to keep measures of abolition out of the contest.

Slavery was at first dealt with from the immediate stand-point of war. Slave property employed in acts against the government was declared confiscated, the army was forbidden to return fugitive slaves, and slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia and in the Territories. Later, the employment of negroes as soldiers was authorized. Two army commanders, Fremont in Missouri and Hunter in South Carolina, took it upon themselves to

issue proclamations abolishing slavery within their fields of command. This unauthorized action was disavowed by the President. Though in favor of abolition, he believed that slave-holders ought to be compensated for their lost property, and in December, 1862, he offered to the consideration of Congress three constitutional amendments, in which he proposed to compensate States which should abolish slavery before 1900 and to colonize free negroes out of the country. Though these recommendations were not considered, yet gradual emancipation was incorporated in 1862 in the Constitution of West Virginia, and in that of Missouri in 1863. Maryland, in 1864, adopted immediate abolition. On September 22, 1862, President Lincoln issued a preliminary proclamation, and on January 1, 1863, a final one, definitely abolishing slavery in the hostile States, with the exception of the parishes of Louisiana and the counties of Virginia which were then within the Union lines. Though it has been claimed that the President had neither constitutional nor physical power to abolish slavery in these States, and that therefore his action was nugatory, yet its effect proved sufficiently positive. As the Federal armies advanced, slavery disappeared behind them. Of the slave States not included in the proclamation, Kentucky and Delaware alone took no action on the subject of slavery, but the institution was everywhere near its death. On April 8, 1864, the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery within the limits of the United States, was offered in Congress, and in 1865 it was ratified by thirty-one of the thirty-six States. The work begun by *The Liberator* in 1830 was thus completed, and every man, woman, and child within the United States of America was declared free from the date of December 18, 1865.

SECTION X.

THE ERA OF CIVIL WAR.

JOHN BROWN AND THE RAID UPON HARPER'S FERRY.

HORACE GREELEY.

[The first blood shed in the war between freedom and slavery was that spilled upon the soil of Kansas. In this conflict one of the most active and earnest of the Free State party was the afterwards famous John Brown, a man whose hatred of slavery reached the height of fanaticism. Four of his sons had settled in Kansas, near the site of the village of Osawatomie, in 1854. Finding themselves greatly harassed by the invading Missourians, they wrote to their father for arms. Instead of sending them, he brought them, and quickly placed himself at the head of an armed opposition to the invaders.

On August 30, 1856, the village of Osawatomie was attacked by a large body of well-armed Missourians. It was defended by about thirty Free State men. John Brown led this little party, and posted them in an advantageous position on the banks of the Osage River. In the fight that ensued the invaders suffered severely, while the defenders lost but five or six, one of Brown's sons being killed. His party was driven out, and the village burned. Six weeks after, another encounter took place, near Lawrence, in which Brown succeeded in repelling a greatly outnumbering force of assailants.

He afterwards returned to the East, where he held conferences with the leading abolitionists, to some of whom he made known a purpose to invade Virginia, with the design of arousing the slaves to an effort to obtain their freedom. A committee was appointed to procure the means for this enterprise. Shortly after Brown held a secret convention of white and black abolitionists at Chatham, Canada, which adopted a "Provisional Constitution" embodying regulations for the proposed in-

vasion. In a meeting of the committee, on May 24, 1858, it was agreed to raise funds and to supply Brown with rifles. As nothing could be done at that time, he returned to Kansas, for the purpose of aiding the Free State settlers. Here, learning that a family of slaves, just beyond the Missouri border, were about to be sold and sent to Texas, he invaded that State with twenty men, and liberated these and some others. During this raid a Missourian, who had resisted the invaders, was killed. This event roused a strong feeling of indignation, the more moderate Free State men disavowed all sympathy with the act, and Brown soon found Kansas too hot to hold him. He left the Territory in January, 1859, accompanied by four white men and three negroes, with some women and children. He was sharply pursued by thirty pro-slavery men from Leecompton. Brown took possession of two log huts, and faced his adversaries, who were soon joined by twelve additional men from Atchison. On these forty-two Brown and his seven companions made a sudden sally, when the assailants turned and fled without firing a shot,—probably aware of the fact that reinforcements were hastening to Brown's aid. Four only of them stood their ground. These were made prisoners, and forced to deliver their horses to Brown's negroes. At this they swore so profusely that the stern old Puritan ordered them to kneel and pray, his presented pistol overcoming their scruples against this exercise. They swore no more, though he held them prisoners for five days, compelling them, by the same potent argument, to kneel and pray night and morning.

On reaching the East again he received from the secret committee about two thousand dollars. The whole amount raised for the expedition was about four thousand dollars in money and nearly twice that value in arms, most of it given with full knowledge of the purpose intended. Being now prepared for the execution of his desperate scheme, Brown repaired to Harper's Ferry, near which he rented, under the name of Smith, three unoccupied houses on a farm. Here he was gradually joined by the companions whom he had enlisted for the enterprise. Most of these kept out of sight during the day, while arms and munitions were brought from Chambersburg in well-secured boxes. The time originally fixed for the assault on Harper's Ferry was the night of October 24, 1859, but it was made on the 17th, for reasons satisfactory to the leader. The arsenal at this place held a large store of government arms, on which account, and probably from its natural strength, it was selected as a good central point for the rallying of the slaves who Brown must have felt assured would immediately join him.

An account of the circumstances which followed we select from the historical work of a prominent advocate of anti-slavery, the "American Conflict" of Horace Greeley.]

On Saturday, the 15th, a council was held, and a plan of operations discussed. On Sunday evening another council was held, and the programme of the chief unanimously approved. He closed it with these words: "And now, gentlemen, let me press this one thing upon your minds. You all know how dear life is to you, and how dear your lives are to your friends; and, in remembering that, consider that the lives of others are as dear to them as yours are to you. Do not, therefore, take the life of any one if you can possibly avoid it; but, if it is necessary to take life in order to save your own, then make sure work of it." . . .

The forces with which Brown made his attack consisted of seventeen white and five colored men, though it is said that others who escaped assisted outside, by cutting the telegraph-wires and tearing up the railroad-track. The entrance of this petty army into Harper's Ferry on Sunday evening, October 16th, seems to have been effected without creating alarm. They first rapidly extinguished the lights of the town, then took possession of the Armory buildings, which were only guarded by three watchmen, whom, without meeting resistance or exciting alarm, they seized and locked up in the guard-house. It is probable that they were aided, or, at least, guided, by friendly negroes belonging in the village. At half-past ten the watchman at the Potomac bridge was seized and secured. At midnight his successor, arriving, was hailed by Brown's sentinels, but ran, one shot being fired at him from the bridge. He gave the alarm, but still nothing stirred. At a quarter-past one the western train arrived, and its conductor found the bridge guarded by armed men. He and

others attempted to walk across, but were turned back by presented rifles. One man, a negro, was shot in the back, and died next morning. The passengers took refuge in the hotel, and remained there several hours, the conductor properly refusing to pass the train over, though permitted, at three o'clock, to do so.

A little after midnight the house of Colonel Washington was visited by six of Brown's men, under Captain Stevens, who captured the colonel, seized his arms, horses, etc., and liberated his slaves. On their return Stevens and his party visited the house of Mr. Alstadt and his son, whom they captured, and freed their slaves. These, with each male citizen as he appeared in the street, were confined in the Armory until they numbered between forty and fifty. Brown informed his prisoners that they could be liberated on condition of writing to their friends to send a negro apiece as ransom. At daylight the train proceeded, Brown walking over the bridge with the conductor. Whenever any one asked the object of their captors, the uniform answer was, "To free the slaves;" and when one of the workmen, seeing an armed guard at the Arsenal gate, asked by what authority they had taken possession of the public property, he was answered, "By the authority of God Almighty!"

The passenger-train that sped eastward from Harper's Ferry, by Brown's permission, in the early morning of Monday, October 17th, left that place completely in the military possession of the insurrectionists. They held, without dispute, the Arsenal, with its offices, workshops, and grounds. Their sentinels stood on guard at the bridges and principal corners, and were seen walking up and down the streets. Every workman who ignorantly approached the Armory, as day dawned, was seized and imprisoned, with all other white males who seemed capable of making

any trouble. By eight o'clock the number of prisoners had been swelled to sixty-odd, and the work was still proceeding.

But it was no longer entirely one-sided. The white Virginians, who had arms, and who remained unmolested in their houses, prepared to use them. Soon after day-break, as Brown's guards were bringing two citizens to a halt, they were fired on by a man named Turner, and, directly afterward, by a grocer named Boerly, who was instantly killed by the return fire. Several Virginians soon obtained possession of a room overlooking the Armory gates, and fired thence at the sentinels who guarded them, one of whom fell dead, and another—Brown's son Watson—was mortally wounded. Still, throughout the forenoon, the liberators remained masters of the town.

[Whatever the expectations of the invaders, they had already failed. The negroes whom they must have looked for to flock to their standard did not come. To remain in that position was suicidal. No hope was left but in flight. Yet Brown held his ground. Meanwhile, the country was rising.]

Half an hour after noon a militia force, one hundred strong, arrived from Charlestown, the county seat, and were rapidly disposed so as to command every available exit from the place. In taking the Shenandoah bridge they killed one of the insurgents, and captured William Thompson unwounded. The rifle-works were next attacked, and speedily carried, being defended by five insurgents only. These attempted to cross the river, and four of them succeeded in reaching a rock in the middle of it, whence they fought with two hundred Virginians, who lined the banks, until two of them were dead and a third mortally wounded, when the fourth surrendered.

[The fight continued during the day, men being killed on both sides.

The Virginia militia was being hourly reinforced, and Brown, finding himself strongly beleaguered, retreated to the engine-house, where he repulsed his assailants, who lost two killed and six wounded.]

Still militia continued to pour in, the telegraph and railroad having been completely repaired, so that the government at Washington, Governor Wise at Richmond, and the authorities at Baltimore were in immediate communication with Harper's Ferry, and hurrying forward troops from all quarters to overwhelm the remaining handful of insurgents, whom terror and rumor had multiplied to twenty times their actual number. At five P.M. Captain Simms arrived, with militia from Maryland, and completed the investment of the Armory buildings, whence eighteen prisoners had already been liberated upon the retreat of Brown to the engine-house. Colonel Baylor commanded in chief. The firing ceased at nightfall. Brown offered to liberate his prisoners upon condition that his men should be permitted to cross the bridge in safety, which was refused. Night found Brown's forces reduced to three unwounded whites besides himself, with perhaps half a dozen negroes from the vicinity. Eight of the insurgents were already dead; another lay dying beside the survivors; two were captives mortally wounded, and one other unhurt. Around the few survivors were fifteen hundred armed, infuriated foes. Half a dozen of the party, who had been sent out at early morning by Brown to capture slaveholders and liberate slaves, were absent, and unable, even if willing, to join their chief. They fled during the night to Maryland and Pennsylvania; but most of them were ultimately captured. During that night Colonel [Robert E.] Lee, with ninety United States marines and two pieces of artillery, arrived, and took possession of the Armory ground, very close to the engine-house.

Brown, of course, remained awake and alert through

the night, discomfited and beyond earthly hope, but perfectly cool and calm. Said Governor Wise, in a speech at Richmond soon after, "Colonel Washington said that Brown was the coolest man he ever saw in defying death and danger. With one son dead by his side, and another shot through, he felt the pulse of his dying son with one hand, held his rifle with the other, and commanded his men with the utmost composure, encouraging them to be firm, and to sell their lives as dearly as possible." . . .

At seven in the morning, after a parley which resulted in nothing, the marines advanced to the assault, broke in the door of the engine-house by using a ladder as a battering-ram, and rushed into the building. One of the defenders was shot, and two marines wounded; but the odds were too great; in an instant all resistance was over. Brown was struck in the face with a sabre and knocked down, after which the blow was several times repeated, while a soldier ran a bayonet twice into the old man's body. All the insurgents, it is said, would have been killed on the spot, had the Virginians been able to distinguish them with certainty from their prisoners. . . .

On Wednesday evening, October 19th, the four surviving prisoners were conveyed to the jail at Charlestown under an escort of marines. Brown and Stevens, badly wounded, were taken in a wagon; Green and Coppoc, unhurt, walked between files of soldiers, followed by hundreds, who at first cried, "Lynch them!" but were very properly shamed into silence by Governor Wise.

[The legal proceedings which followed, and the conviction and sentence to death of Brown and his companions, have been complained of as unduly hastened and unfairly conducted, yet with little warrant. They were what might have been expected anywhere under similar circumstances of excitement.]

Brown's conduct throughout commanded the admiration

of his bitterest enemies. When his papers were brought into court to be identified, he said, "I will identify any of my handwriting, and save all trouble. I am ready to face the music." When a defence of insanity was suggested rather than interposed, he repelled it with indignation. [When brought into court to be sentenced, he said,] "In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted,—the design on my part to free the slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clear thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection. . . . Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children, and with the blood of millions in this slave-country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I submit: so let it be done." . . .

The 2d of December was the day appointed for his execution. Nearly three thousand militia were early on the ground. Fears of a forcible rescue or of a servile insurrection prevented a large attendance of citizens. Cannon were so planted as to sweep every approach to the jail and to blow the prisoner into shreds upon the first intimation of tumult. Virginia held her breath until she heard that the old man was dead. . . .

He [Brown] walked out of the jail at eleven o'clock,—an eye-witness said, "with a radiant countenance, and the step of a conqueror." His face was even joyous, and it

has been remarked that probably his was the lightest heart in Charlestown that day. A black woman, with a little child in her arms, stood by the door. He stopped a moment, and, stooping, kissed the child affectionately. Another black woman, with a child, as he passed along, exclaimed, "God bless you, old man! I wish I could help you; but I can't." He looked at her with a tear in his eye. He mounted the wagon beside his jailer, Captain Avis, who had been one of the bravest of his captors, who had treated him very kindly, and to whom he was profoundly grateful. The wagon was instantly surrounded by six companies of militia. Being asked, on the way, if he felt any fear, he replied, "It has been a characteristic of me from infancy not to suffer from physical fear. I have suffered a thousand times more from bashfulness than from fear." The day was clear and bright, and he remarked, as he rode, that the country seemed very beautiful. Arrived at the gallows, he said, "I see no citizens here; where are they?" "None but the troops are allowed to be present," was the reply. "That ought not to be," said he: "citizens should be allowed to be present as well as others." He bade adieu to some acquaintances at the foot of the gallows, and was first to mount the scaffold. His step was still firm, and his bearing calm, yet hopeful. The hour having come, he said to Captain Avis, "I have no words to thank you for all your kindness to me." His elbows and ankles being pinioned, the white cap drawn over his eyes, the hangman's rope adjusted around his neck, he stood waiting for death. "Captain Brown," said the sheriff, "you are not standing on the drop. Will you come forward?" "I can't see," was his firm answer; "you must lead me." The sheriff led him forward to the centre of the drop. "Shall I give you a handkerchief, and let you drop it as a signal?" "No; I am ready at any time; but do not keep me need-

lessly waiting." In defiance of this reasonable request, he was kept standing thus several minutes, while a military parade and display of readiness to repel an imaginary foe were enacted. The time seemed an hour to the impatient spectators; even the soldiers began to murmur, "Shame!" At last the order was given, the rope cut with a hatchet, and the trap fell, but so short a distance that the victim continued to struggle and to suffer for a considerable time. Being at length duly pronounced dead, he was cut down after thirty-eight minutes' suspension. His body was conveyed to Harper's Ferry, and delivered to his widow, by whom it was conveyed to her far Northern home, among the mountains he so loved, and where he was so beloved.

FORT SUMTER BOMBARDED.

ORVILLE J. VICTOR.

[The war between the North and the South had its actual beginning in 1855, in the sanguinary struggle on the soil of Kansas between the settlers and the invading Missourians. The next step of violence in this contest was the brutal attack of Brooks on Sumner, on the floor of the Senate-chamber, on May 22, 1856. It was continued by the war-like acts of John Brown in Kansas and Missouri, and his assault upon Harper's Ferry.

These direct acts of violence were accompanied by a war of words and threats whose significance was not then properly appreciated. The debates in Congress were conducted with a bitterness of recrimination that has never been equalled before or since, while from 1850 onward the threat of secession was openly made whenever any pro-slavery measure met with strong opposition. In the Presidential election of 1856 the strength of the Republican party was shown in a vote for Fremont of 1,341,264 to 1,838,169 for Buchanan. Fillmore, the candidate of the American party,—which deprecated any interference

with the right of the actual settlers of a Territory to frame their Constitution and laws,—received 874,534 votes.

On the approach of the period for the 1860 election the state of public feeling had grown far more violent, and the hot-headed leaders of Southern politics were so determined upon having all or nothing that they divided their party and insured their defeat, rather than accept the moderate views of the Northern section of the party. Stephen A. Douglas, the candidate of the Northern Democrats, was opposed by John C. Breckenridge as a candidate of the Southerners. The "Constitutional Union" (late "American") party nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, while the Republicans offered as their candidate Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, whose record on the question at issue was embraced in a sentence of a recent speech: "*I believe this government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free.*" The issue between freedom and slavery was for the first time clearly defined in a political contest. Pro-slavery and anti-slavery were pitted against each other in the most momentous election-contest the country had ever known. Lincoln might have been elected in any case. As it was, the division of their party by the Southerners insured his election,—a result, indeed, rather desired than deprecated by the South, to judge from the spirit of rejoicing with which the news of the Republican victory was received in South Carolina.

Already in 1856 an intention not to submit to the decision of the people, if adverse to the views of the slave-holders, had been manifested. A secret convention of Southern governors was held at Raleigh, North Carolina, in October, 1856, whose animus was afterwards indicated by Governor Wise, of Virginia, in the statement that if Fremont had been elected an army of twenty thousand men would have marched to Washington and seized the Capitol, in order forcibly to prevent his inauguration. In October, 1860, a meeting of prominent politicians was held in South Carolina, which resolved on secession in the event of Lincoln's election. Similar meetings were held in several of the Gulf States. This was no idle threat. The most joyful enthusiasm was manifested in Charleston, South Carolina, when the news of Lincoln's election reached the "Fire-Eaters" of that city, and they felt that the opportunity for what they had long desired was at hand. The fact that the Democrats still retained a majority in Congress was not enough for the ultra Southern leaders. The passions of the people were at fever-heat. Secession had been already determined upon. It could at that time be attempted with advantage, from the fact that the

administration was still Democratic, and there was little fear of active interference with measures of disunion before March, 1861. Compromises were attempted, but no one would listen to them. Before New-Year's day, 1861, South Carolina had passed an ordinance of secession and set up as an independent power. Other States followed,—Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. The northern range of slave States as yet refused to follow this example, and did not do so until after war had actually broken out.

These acts of secession were quickly followed by the seizure of the United States forts and arsenals in the seceding States, to which action the authorities at Washington manifested no opposition, and indeed, as has been declared, took good care that they should be well supplied with munitions of war. Major Robert Anderson, in charge of the forts in Charleston harbor, promptly evacuated Fort Moultrie, as incapable of defence, and established himself in Fort Sumter with his small garrison of one hundred and twenty-eight men. The remaining forts and the arsenal were at once seized, and volunteers came pouring into the city. Similar seizures were made in the other seceding States, and even in North Carolina, which had not seceded. About thirty forts, mounting over three thousand guns, and having cost the United States twenty million dollars, were thus forcibly taken possession of. A convention was held at Montgomery, Alabama, a Constitution adopted, and Jefferson Davis elected President, with Alexander H. Stephens for Vice-President, of the Confederate Southern States.

On the 11th of February, 1861, Abraham Lincoln left his home in Springfield, Illinois, and began his journey to Washington. On reaching Harrisburg, indications of a purpose violently to oppose his progress became apparent, and his journey from this point was performed secretly. His inaugural address, delivered on the 4th of March, was conciliatory in tone, and the envoys from the Confederate government, afterwards sent to Washington, were received with a lack of plain-speaking that gave them hopes of a non-interference policy. It was not until April that any decisive action was taken by the new administration. Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, was beleaguered by a Confederate force. Was it to be given up without a struggle? This was just then the vital question, and the decision of the administration was manifested by secret but rapid preparations to relieve the fort. Early in April a well-appointed fleet sailed southward for this purpose. As soon as the fact came clearly to the knowledge of the

leaders at Charleston, hostilities were determined upon, unless Anderson would at once consent to evacuate the fort. On April 12 he offered to evacuate on the 15th if not by that date aided by the government. In reply he was given one hour in which to decide, at the end of which time fire would be opened on the fort. An interesting description of the stirring events that succeeded we select from Victor's "History of the Southern Rebellion."]

PUNCTUALLY at the hour indicated—twenty minutes past four A.M.—the roar of a mortar from Sullivan's Island announced the war begun. A second bomb from the same battery followed; then Fort Moultrie answered with the thunder of a columbiad; Cumming's Point next, and the Floating Battery, dropped in their resonant notes; then a pause, but only for a moment. A roar of fifty guns burst in concert, a chorus to the solemn prelude which must have startled the spirits of the patriotic dead in their slumbers.

Sumter lay off in the waters, the centre of that appalling circle of fire. The early morning shadows had lifted from its ramparts to discover the stars and stripes floating from the garrison staff; but it was as silent amid that storm as if no living soul panted and fretted within its walls. It was the silence of duty,—of men resolved on death, if their country called for the sacrifice. For months the little garrison had been pent up in the fortress, overworked and underfed, but not a murmur escaped the men, and the hour of assault found all prepared for their leader's orders,—to defend the fort to the last.

The sentinels were removed from the parapet, the posterns closed, and the order given for the men to keep close within the casements until the call of the drum. Breakfast was quietly served at six o'clock, the shot and shell of the enemy thundering against the walls and pouring within the enclosure with remarkable precision. After

breakfast, disposition was calmly made for the day's work. The casements were supplied from the magazines; the guns, without tangents or scales, and even destitute of bearing-screws, were to be ranged by the eyes and fired "by guess;" the little force was told off in relays, composed of three reliefs, equally dividing the officers and men. Captain Doubleday took the first detachment, and fired the first gun at seven o'clock. The captain directed his guns at Moultrie, at the Cumming's Point iron battery, the floating iron-clad battery anchored off the end of Sullivan's Island, and the enfilading battery on Sullivan's Island,—all of which were then pouring in a scathing storm of solid shot. To the mortar-batteries on James Island and Mount Pleasant, and to Fort Johnson, but little attention was paid,—only an occasional columbiad answering their terrific messengers to prove its defiance. The parapet-guns were not served after a few rounds, as their exposed condition rendered it impossible to work them without a sacrifice of men,—a sacrifice Anderson would not needlessly allow. Throughout all that fearful fray the commander seemed never to lose sight of the men; and that not a man was lost during the bombardment reflects quite as much honor upon him as the defence did honor to his devotion to duty.

[The eagerness of the men within the fort was so great that the reliefs refused to await their turns, while a body of Irish laborers, who at first declined to handle the heavy guns, soon were among the most enthusiastic of the defenders.]

Their devotion, indeed, became reckless. An officer stated that, having ordered the barbette guns to be silenced, owing to the murderous fire made upon them by the rifled ordnance of the enfilading battery, he was surprised to hear a report from one of the exposed forty-two-pounders. Proceeding to the parapet, he found a party of

the workmen serving the gun. "I saw one of them," he stated, "stooping over, with his hands on his knees, convulsed with joy, while the tears rolled down his powder-begrimed cheeks. 'What are you doing there with that gun?' I asked. 'Hit it right in the centre,' was the reply, the man meaning that his shot had taken effect in the centre of the floating battery."

Another officer present thus recorded the nature and effect of that literal rain of iron which all the day long (Friday) poured in upon the still defiant walls:

"Shells burst with the greatest rapidity in every portion of the work, hurling the loose brick and stone in all directions, breaking the windows, and setting fire to whatever wood-work they burst against. The solid-shot firing of the enemy's batteries, and particularly of Fort Moultrie, was directed at the barbette guns of Fort Sumter, disabling one ten-inch columbiad (they had but two), one eight-inch columbiad, one forty-two-pounder, and two eight-inch sea-coast howitzers, and also tearing a large portion of the parapet away. The firing from the batteries on Cumming's Point was scattered over the whole of the gorge, or rear, of the fort. It looked like a sieve. The explosion of shells, and the quantity of deadly missiles that were hurled in every direction and at every instant of time, made it almost certain death to go out of the lower tier of casements, and also made the working of the barbette or upper uncovered guns, which contained all our heaviest metals, and by which alone we could throw shells, quite impossible. During the first day there was hardly an instant of time that there was a cessation of the whizzing of balls, which were sometimes coming half a dozen at once. There was not a portion of the work which was not seen in reverse (that is, exposed by the rear) from mortars." . . .

At noon, Friday, the supply of cartridges in the fort was exhausted, when the blankets of the barracks and the shirts of the men were sewed into the required bags and served out. No instrument was in the fort for weighing the powder, thus forbidding all precision in the charge, and, as a consequence, causing much variation in planting the shot. When we add that the guns wanted both tangents, breech or telescopic sights, that wedges served instead of bearing-screws, we can only express astonishment at the accuracy attained. Not a structure of the enemy escaped the solid balls of the columbiads and paixhans. The village of Moultrieville—a gathering of summer-houses belonging to citizens of Charleston—was completely riddled.

The fleet appeared off the harbor at noon, Friday. Signals passed between Anderson and the vessels, but no effort was made to run the gauntlet. Along Morris and Sullivan's Islands were anchored small batteries, commanding the harbor-entrance, expressly designed to prevent the passage of vessels over the bar and up the channel. To have passed these would only have brought the vessel in range of the irresistible guns of Cumming's Point and of Moultrie. No wooden frame could have withstood their fearful hail. The only feasible plan was, under cover of the night, to run in with small boats, or to force a landing on Morris Island and carry the batteries by assault. Either plan would have proven successful, if conducted with spirit, though it would have entailed much loss of life. Why it was not undertaken is only explainable on the inference that *Mr. Lincoln did not want to retain Sumter*. The possession of the fort was a matter of no military importance; a blockade would render *all* the defences of the harbor useless. The assault on the fort would serve to initiate the war for the Union, and thus instate the President's

policy for the suppression of the rebellion. The refusal to withdraw the garrison from Charleston harbor unquestionably was the subtle key to unlock the national sympathies and to place in Mr. Lincoln's hands the entire power of the loyal States. He counted well upon the madness of the Confederates, and simply opened the way for them to assail the government by assaulting its garrison. This was the part for Fort Sumter to play ; and, having played it successfully, it was not necessary to retain the position. The evacuation of the fortress, and the return to the North of its garrison, to excite public sympathy, would be worth more to the cause of the Union than the reinforcement and retention of the stronghold.

[During Friday the officers' barracks within the fort were set on fire several times, but were extinguished. Guns were fired at intervals through the night, to prevent repairs.]

Saturday morning, at the earliest light, the cannonading was resumed with redoubled fury. By eight o'clock the red-hot balls from the furnace in Moultrie came to prove that the revolutionists would use every means to dislodge the obstinate Anderson. Soon the barracks and quarters were in flames, past all control. The men were then withdrawn from the guns, to avert the now impending danger to the magazine. The powder must be emptied into the sea. Ninety barrels were rolled over the area exposed to the flames, and pitched into the water. By this time the heat from the burning buildings became intense, fairly stifling the men with its dense fumes. The doors of the vault were, therefore, sealed, while the men crept into the casemates to avoid suffocation by cowering close to the floor, covering their faces with wet cloths. An occasional gun only could be fired, as a signal to the enemy and the fleet outside that the fort had not surrendered. The colors

still floated from the staff. When the winds bore the smoke and flames aside, its folds revealed to the enemy the glorious stars and stripes, waving there amid the ruin and treble terror, unscathed. Its halliards had been shot away, but, becoming entangled, the flag was fixed. Only the destruction of the staff could drag it down.

This appalling conflagration seemed to inflame the zeal of the assailants. The entire circle of attack blazoned with fire, and the air was cut into hissing arches of smoke and balls. The rebel general in command had stated that two hours, probably, would suffice to reduce the fortress, but twenty-eight hours had not accomplished the work; and now, as the besiegers beheld another and more invincible power coming to their aid, they acknowledged the service rendered, by frenzied shouts and redoubled service at their guns. It must have been a moment to inspire the enthusiasm of seven thousand sons of the South, when flames and suffocation came to assist in reducing eighty half-starved and exhausted men.

About noon of Saturday the upper service magazine exploded, tearing away the tower and upper portions of the fort, and doing more havoc than a week's bombardment could have effected. One who was present wrote, "The crash of the beams, the roar of the flames, the rapid explosion of the shells, and the shower of fragments of the fort, with the blackness of the smoke, made the scene indescribably terrific and grand. This continued for several hours. Meanwhile, the main gates were burned down, the chassis of the barbette guns were burned away on the gorge, and the upper portions of the towers had been demolished by shells.

"There was not a portion of the fort where a breath of air could be got for hours, except through a wet cloth. The fire spread to the men's quarters, on the right hand

and on the left, and endangered the powder which had been taken out of the magazines. The men went through the fire and covered the barrels with wet cloths, but the danger of the fort's blowing up became so imminent that they were obliged to heave the barrels out of the embrasures. While the powder was being thrown overboard, all the guns of Moultrie, of the iron floating battery, of the enfilade battery, and the Dahlgren battery, worked with increased vigor.

"All but four barrels were thus disposed of, and those remaining were wrapped in many thicknesses of wet woollen blankets. But three cartridges were left, and these were in the guns. About this time the flag-staff of Fort Sumter was shot down, some fifty feet from the truck, this being the ninth time that it had been struck by a shot. The men cried out, 'The flag is down; it has been shot away!' In an instant, Lieutenant Hall rushed forward and brought the flag away. But the halliards were so inextricably tangled that it could not be righted: it was, therefore, nailed to the staff, and planted upon the ramparts, while batteries in every direction were playing upon them."

[Shortly after this incident, Louis T. Wigfall, late United States Senator from Texas, came out to the fort with a white flag. He announced that he had been sent by General Beauregard to demand on what terms Anderson would surrender. The latter replied that he would evacuate on the terms offered in his note to Beauregard, and on no others. Another boat soon after appeared, with members of Beauregard's staff, and Anderson, to his mortification, was informed that Wigfall had come out utterly without authority. Beauregard, however, accepted the terms which Anderson had proposed to Wigfall, and the opening battle of the war ended, a contest in which not a man had been lost on either side. The poorly-prepared condition for service of Sumter's guns had saved the assailants from all peril.]

During the bombardment a vast concourse of people

gathered in Charleston, and lined the wharves and promenade, to witness the sublime contest. The surrounding country poured in its eager, excited masses to add to the throng. Men, women, and children stood there, hour after hour, with blanched faces and praying hearts; for few of that crowd but had some loved one in the works under fire. Messengers came hourly from the several positions, to assure the people of the safety of the men. The second day's conflict found the city densely filled with people, crowding in by railway and private conveyances from the more distant counties, until Charleston literally swarmed with humanity, which, in dispersing, after the evacuation, played the important part of agents to "fire the Southern heart" for the storm which their madness had evoked.

The evacuation took place Sunday morning [April 14, 1861], commencing at half-past nine. The steamer *Isabel* was detailed to receive the garrison, and to bear it to any point in the North which Anderson might indicate. The baggage was first transferred to the transport; then the troops marched out, bearing their arms; while a squad, specially detailed, fired fifty guns as a salute to their flag. At the last discharge, a premature explosion killed one man, David Hough, and wounded three,—the only loss and injury which the men suffered in the eventful drama. The troops then lowered their flag and marched out with their colors flying, while the band played "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail to the Chief." From the *Isabel* the garrison was conveyed to the transport *Baltic*, still anchored outside the bar. The *Baltic* sailed for New York Tuesday evening, April 16th. . . . Thus ended the drama of Sumter, —a drama which served to prelude the grander tragedy of the War for the Union.

THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMACK.

JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER.

[The civil war in America made in military science one step of progress of the highest importance: it revolutionized naval combats. From the earliest days of naval warfare nearly up to the year 1861 the wooden ship was the type of warlike vessels, oaken beams being the strongest bulwarks behind which fought the gallant sailors of the past. Somewhat previous to the outbreak of the war in America experiments in iron armor for ships had been made in England and France, but little had been done towards proving the efficacy of this expedient in war. The value of this method was first practically proved in the American war. The idea of coating their vessels with iron at once arose in the minds of the combatants, both sides simultaneously trying the experiment. Thus, in a crude manner at first, was brought into practical use that feature in naval architecture which has made such extraordinary progress within the succeeding twenty-five years.

At the opening of the war the navy was very weak, and its ships were widely scattered, there being, indeed, but one efficient war-vessel on the Northern coast when the first shots were fired. The dock-yards were also ill provided. Buchanan's Secretary of the Navy had been careful to strengthen the South and weaken the North during the later months of his term of office. Active steps were at once taken, however, for the creation of a navy, and war-vessels were built with remarkable rapidity. In this labor the idea of building iron-clads at once came into prominence. In the attack on Fort Sumter the Confederates had used a floating battery, composed of a raft with sloping bulwarks of iron. This expedient was quickly extended. The *Merrimack*, a large frigate which had been sunk at the abandonment of the Gosport navy-yard, at Norfolk, was raised with little difficulty, and the Confederates proceeded to cover the hull with a sloping roof of iron, the covering of mail extending beneath the water.

The Federal government, in like manner, proceeded to build iron-clads, for both river- and ocean-service. Gunboats, to be covered with iron mail, for use on the Western rivers, were contracted for, and built with such rapidity by Mr. Eads, of St. Louis, that in less than a hundred days after their commencement a fleet of eight heavily-armored

steamboats were fully ready for service. Several other vessels, more thinly coated, but musket-proof, were built. These gained the title of "tin-clads." Mortar-boats were constructed, similarly protected.

For ocean-service, in addition to the numerous fleet of wooden vessels intended for use in the blockade of the Southern ports, some of them very large and powerful, an efficient fleet of iron-clads was prepared. Originally contracts were entered into for three such vessels, of differing character. One was a small corvette, the *Galena*, covered with iron three inches thick. This experiment proved a failure, as solid shot easily penetrated that thickness of mail. A second, the *New Ironsides*, was a heavily-coated frigate, which did good service. The third brought into play a new idea in naval architecture, the invention of John Ericsson, a Swedish engineer. It consisted of a nearly-submerged, flat-surfaced hull, surmounted by a revolving turret strongly plated and containing a few powerful guns. This vessel, the *Monitor*, was to be built in one hundred days, and fortunately the contract was executed within the prescribed time. The great success of her first engagement encouraged the government to build several other vessels of the same type, some of them being very large and powerful. Several of these vessels were provided with rams, of solid wood and iron, calculated to pierce any vessel whose sides they might have an opportunity to strike. The *Merrimack* was also furnished with a ram, and the Confederates afterwards prepared several strong vessels of this sort, all of which, however, met with serious disasters. It may be said here that the use of the *Monitor* idea in warfare practically ended with our civil war. The development of the iron-clad has proceeded in a different direction.

Another idea was adopted which also has had a revolutionizing effect on naval warfare, that of the employment of very heavy guns. Up to 1860 the English navy used no guns of larger calibre than eight inches. America had long given her ships a more powerful armament than those of England. In 1856 American frigates were afloat armed with guns of nine-, ten-, and eleven-inch calibre. With the outbreak of the war much heavier guns were made, the twenty-inch Rodman throwing a ball of eleven hundred pounds' weight, with a range of four and a half miles. The progress of iron-clad naval architecture has since rendered the use of very heavy guns an absolute necessity, and experiments in this direction have kept pace with those in thickening the steel coating of ships, until both seem to have nearly reached their limit of possible utility.

The remarks here made seem necessary as preliminary to the description of perhaps the most remarkable event in naval warfare which exists in the annals of history, the encounter of the first two iron-clad ships, with the sudden and radical revision of previously-existing ideas to which it gave rise. A description of this highly interesting event we select from Draper's "Civil War in America."]

WHEN the navy-yard at Norfolk was seized by Virginia, among the ships partly destroyed was the steam-frigate *Merrimack*, of forty guns. She was one of the finest vessels in the navy, and was worth, when equipped, nearly a million and a quarter of dollars.

She had been set on fire, and also scuttled, by the officers who had charge of the yard. Her upper work alone, therefore, had suffered. Her hull and machinery were comparatively uninjured.

The Confederate government caused her to be raised and turned into an extemporaneous iron-clad. Her hull was cut down, and a stout timber roof built upon it. This was then strongly plated with three layers of iron, each one inch and a quarter thick, the first layer being placed horizontally, the second obliquely, the third perpendicularly. The armature reached two feet below the water-line, and rose ten feet above. The ends were constructed in the same manner. A false bow was added for the purpose of dividing the water, and beyond it projected an iron beak. Outwardly she presented the appearance of an iron roof or ark. It was expected that, from her sloping armature, shots striking would glance away. Her armament consisted of eight eleven-inch guns, four on each side, and a one-hundred-pound rifled Armstrong gun at each end.

As the fact of her construction could not be concealed, the Confederate authorities purposely circulated rumors to her disadvantage. It was said that her iron was so

heavy that she could hardly float; that her hull had been seriously injured, and that she could not be steered. Of course they could have no certain knowledge of her capabilities as a weapon of war, and, as was the case with many officers of the national navy, perhaps they held her in light esteem.

About mid-day on Saturday, March 8th [1862], she came down the Elizabeth River, under the command of Franklin Buchanan, an officer who had abandoned the national navy. She was attended by two armed steamboats, and was afterward joined by two others. Passing the sailing-frigate Congress, and receiving from her her fire, she made her way to the sloop-of-war Cumberland, of twenty-four guns and three hundred and seventy-six men. This ship had been placed across the channel to bring her broadside to bear, and, as the Merrimack approached, she received her with a rapid fire. At once one of the problems presented by the Merrimack's construction was solved: the shot of the Cumberland, from thirteen nine- and ten-inch guns, glanced from her armature "like so many peas." Advancing with all the speed she had, and receiving six or eight broadsides while so doing, she struck her antagonist with her iron beak just forward of the main chains, and instantly opened her fire of shells from every gun she could bring to bear. The battle was already decided. Through the hole she had made, large enough for a man to enter, the water poured in. In vain Lieutenant Morris, who commanded the Cumberland, worked the pumps to keep her afloat a few moments more, hoping that a lucky shot might find some weaker place. He only abandoned his guns as one after another the settling of the sinking ship swamped them in the water. The last shot was fired by Matthew Tenney, from a gun on a level with the water. That brave man then attempted to escape through the

port-hole, but was borne back by the incoming rush, and went down with the ship. With him went down nearly one hundred dead, sick, wounded, and those who, like him, could not extricate themselves. The Cumberland sank in fifty-four feet of water. The commander of her assailant saw the flag of the unconquered but sunken ship still flying above the surface. He was not a Virginian, but a Marylander by birth, and had served under that flag for thirty-five years.

The sailing-frigate Congress, which had fired at the Merrimack as she passed, and exchanged shots with the armed steamboats, had been run aground by her commander with the assistance of a tug. The Merrimack now came up, and, taking a position about one hundred and fifty yards from her stern, fired shell into her. One shell killed seventeen men at one of the guns. Of the only two guns with which she could reply, one was quickly dismounted, and the muzzle of the other knocked off. The Merrimack ranged slowly backward and forward at less than one hundred yards. In her helpless condition, the Congress took fire in several places, and nearly half her crew were killed or wounded. Among the former was her commander. The flag was therefore hauled down, and a tug came alongside to take possession of her. But, fire being opened on the tug by some soldiers on shore, the Merrimack recommenced shelling, doing the same again later in the day, after the crew of the Congress had abandoned her. The Congress was set thoroughly on fire. About midnight she blew up. Out of her crew of four hundred and thirty-four men, only two hundred and eighteen survived. In little more than two hours Buchanan had killed or drowned more than three hundred of his old comrades.

When the Merrimack first came out, the commander of

the steam-frigate *Minnesota* got his ship under way, intending to butt the iron-clad and run her down. As he passed Sewall's Point, he received the fire of a rifle battery there, and had his mainmast injured. It was ebb tide; the *Minnesota* drew twenty-three feet water; at one part of the channel the depth was less, but, as the bottom was soft, it was hoped that the ship could be forced over. She, however, took the ground, and, in spite of every exertion, became immovable. The *Merrimack*, having destroyed the *Cumberland* and *Congress*, now came down upon the *Minnesota*. Her draft, however, prevented her coming nearer to her intended victim than a mile, and the fire on both sides was comparatively ineffective. But the armed steamboats ventured nearer, and, with their rifled guns, killed and wounded several men on board the *Minnesota*. On her part, she sent a shot through the boiler of one of them. Night was coming on; the *Merrimack* did not venture to lie out in the Roads: so, expecting another easy victory in the morning, she retired at seven P.M., with her consorts, behind Sewall's Point.

The *Minnesota* still lay fast on the mud-bank. The recoil of her own firing had forced her harder on. Attempts were made at high tide, and, indeed, all through the night, to get her off, but in vain. The steam-frigate *Roanoke*, disabled some months previously by the breaking of her shaft, and the sailing-frigate *St. Lawrence*, had both likewise been aground, but had now gone down the Roads.

At nine o'clock that night Ericsson's new iron-clad turret-ship, the *Monitor*, reached Fortress Monroe from New York. Every exertion had been made by her inventor to get her out in time to meet the *Merrimack*; and the Confederates, finding from their spies in New York that she would probably be ready, put a double force on their frigate, and worked night and day. It is said that this

extra labor gained that one day in which the Merrimack destroyed the Cumberland and the Congress.

The Monitor was commanded by Lieutenant John L. Worden. A dreadful passage of three days had almost worn out her crew. The sea had swept over her decks; the turret was often the only part above water. The tiller-rope was at one time thrown off the wheel. The draft-pipe had been choked by the pouring down of the waves. The men were half suffocated. The fires had been repeatedly extinguished. Ventilation had, however, been obtained through the turret. Throughout the previous afternoon Worden had heard the sound of the cannonading. He delayed but a few minutes at the Fortress, and soon after midnight had anchored the Monitor alongside the Minnesota (March 9).

Day broke,—a clear and beautiful Sunday. The flag of the Cumberland was still flying; the corpses of her defenders were floating about on the water. The Merrimack approached to renew her attack. She ran down toward the Fortress, and then came up the channel through which the Minnesota had passed. Worden at once took his station at the peep-hole of his pilot-house, laid the Monitor before her enemy, and gave the fire of his two eleven-inch guns. The shot of each was one hundred and sixty-eight pounds' weight. Catesby Jones, who had taken command of the Merrimack, Buchanan having been wounded the previous day, saw at once that he had on his hands a very different antagonist from those of yesterday. The turret was but a very small mark to fire at, nine feet by twenty; the shot that struck it glanced off. One bolt only from a rifle-gun struck squarely, penetrating into the iron; "it then broke short off, and left its head sticking in." For the most part, the shot flew over the low deck, missing their aim.

Five times the Merrimack tried to run the Monitor down, and at each time received, at a few feet distance, the fire of the eleven-inch guns. In her movements at one moment she got aground, and the light-drawing Monitor, steaming round her, tried at every promising point to get a shot into her. Her armor at last began to start and bend.

Unable to shake off the Monitor or to do her any injury, the Merrimack now renewed her attempt on the frigate Minnesota, receiving from her a whole broadside which struck squarely. "It was enough," said Captain Van Brunt, who commanded the frigate, "to have blown out of the water any wooden ship in the world." In her turn, she sent from her rifled bow-gun a shell through the Minnesota's side; it exploded within her, tearing four of her rooms into one, and setting her on fire. Another shell burst the boiler of the tug-boat Dragon, which lay alongside the Minnesota. The frigate was firing on the iron-clad solid shot as fast as she could.

Once more the Monitor intervened between them, compelling her antagonist to change position, in doing which the Merrimack again grounded, and again received a whole broadside from the Minnesota. The blows she was receiving were beginning to tell upon her. As soon as she could get clear, she ran down the bay, followed by the Monitor. Suddenly she turned round, and attempted to run her tormentor down. Her beak grated on the Monitor's deck, and was wrenched. The turret-ship stood unharmed a blow like that which had sent the Cumberland to the bottom; she merely glided out from under her antagonist, and in the act of so doing gave her a shot while almost in contact. It seemed to crush in her armor.

The Monitor now hauled off, for the purpose of hoisting more shot into her turret. Catesby Jones thought he had

silenced her, and that he might make another attempt on the *Minnesota*. He, however, changed his course as the *Monitor* steamed up, and it was seen that the *Merrimack* was sagging down at her stern. She made the best of her way to Craney Island. The battle was over; the turreted *Monitor* had driven her from the field and won the victory.

The *Minnesota* had fired two hundred and forty-seven solid shot, two hundred and eighty-two shells, and more than ten tons of powder. The *Monitor* fired forty-one shot, and was struck twenty-two times. The last shell fired by the *Merrimack* at her struck her pilot-house opposite the peep-hole, through which Worden at that moment was looking. He was knocked down senseless and blinded by the explosion. When consciousness returned, the first question this brave officer asked was, "Did we save the *Minnesota*?"

The shattering of the pilot-house was the greatest injury that the *Monitor* received. One of the iron logs, nine inches by twelve inches thick, was broken in two.

On board the *Merrimack* two were killed and nineteen wounded. She had lost her iron prow, her starboard anchor, and all her boats; her armor was dislocated and damaged; she leaked considerably; her steam-pipe and smoke-stack were riddled; the muzzles of two of her guns were shot away; the wood-work round one of the ports was set on fire at every discharge.

In his report on the battle, Buchanan states that in fifteen minutes after the action began he had run the *Cumberland* down; that he distinctly heard the crash when she was struck, and that the fire his ship received did her some injury; that there was great difficulty in managing the *Merrimack* when she was near the mud, and that this was particularly the case in getting into

position to attack the Congress. It was while firing the red-hot shot and incendiary shell by which that ship was burnt that he was himself wounded.

This engagement excited the most profound interest throughout the civilized world. It seemed as if the day of wooden navies was over. Nor was it alone the superiority of iron as against wood that was settled by this combat: it showed that a monitor was a better construction than a mailed broadside ship, and that inclined armor was inferior to a turret.

[This opinion does not take into account the defects of the monitors as sea-going vessels, which have prevented their coming into extended use. The original Monitor foundered in a storm off Cape Hatteras during the same year. The Merrimack was blown up on the abandonment of Norfolk, on May 11, 1862.]

THE CONFLICT AT ANTIETAM.

BENSON J. LOSSING.

[The war which immediately followed the assault on Fort Sumter was so crowded with events of striking importance and interest that we shall be obliged to pass in rapid review over certain engagements of vital consequence, and dwell only upon the special turning-points of the war. The conflict in Virginia was in particular crowded with sanguinary engagements, constituting a drama of imposing interest, whose first act may be considered to end with the battle of Antietam, in September, 1862. The varied scenes preceding the dénouement of this act can be given but in rapid outline. The reduction of Fort Sumter was immediately followed by a call from President Lincoln for seventy-five thousand volunteers, who were quickly furnished by the aroused and indignant people of the North. Yet a lack of boldness and decision on the part of the authorities permitted the valuable navy-yard at Norfolk to fall into the hands of the Confederates,

caused the destruction of the costly arms-making machinery at Harper's Ferry, and left Washington City in no little danger of capture. The latter peril was averted by the hasty southward movement of troops, but highly valuable material of war fell into the hands of the secessionists, through the seizure of Southern forts and arsenals, some of which had been specially supplied for this purpose by the secession element of the Buchanan cabinet.

The military situation, and the character of the war that followed, were in some respects peculiar. There was actually a double war,—one confined to the State of Virginia and the country immediately north of it, the other waged for the possession of the Mississippi and the range of States bordering it on the east. Besides these two great fields of campaigning, were the operations west of the Mississippi, of minor importance, and the blockade of the coast, which proved highly useful in isolating the South from foreign countries.

The two capital cities, Washington and Richmond, were the points between which, for four years, raged the war in Virginia, these cities being assailed and defended with a vigor and fury that went far to exhaust the resources of the warring sections of the country. In the West the line of battle was gradually pushed southward from the Ohio, through the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, till the Gulf States were finally reached. On the Mississippi it went southward more rapidly, while a like movement was pushed northward along that river, until the two invading armies met, and the great artery of the West became again a river of the United States. Only after this achievement did the two fields of war begin to combine into one, the Western army marching into the Atlantic States and pushing north to the aid of Grant in that final struggle which was draining the last life-drops of vitality from the veins of the exhausted Confederacy.

The operations of the armies must therefore be considered separately. In the East hostilities first broke out definitely in West Virginia. This new State, which had clung to the Union, became the seat of a struggle in which McClellan and Rosecrans gained an early triumph. At the battle of Rich Mountain (July 11, 1861), Garnett, the Confederate general, was killed, and his troops routed. General Patterson had meanwhile taken possession of Harper's Ferry, which was evacuated by General Johnston, and General Butler, stationed at Fortress Monroe, had skirmished with the enemy at Big Bethel.

The war fairly began in later July, when General McDowell, with twenty-eight thousand men, advanced against General Beauregard,

who was strongly posted behind the small stream of Bull Run, south of Washington. In the severe battle that ensued both armies were under the disadvantage of being composed of untried and undisciplined men. Victory at first inclined strongly towards McDowell, but Beauregard, with great skill, maintained his position until joined by Johnston's army from the Shenandoah Valley. Patterson, who was expected from the same quarter, failed to appear, and the Federal army, overwhelmed by these fresh troops, was forced to retreat with a haste that soon became precipitate. They were not pursued, however.

McClellan was now recalled from West Virginia, and placed in command of the Army of the Potomac, while Rosecrans was left to confront General Lee, who had been placed in command of the West Virginia Confederate forces. No further events of particular importance occurred in that quarter, while in Eastern Virginia comparative quiet reigned during the remainder of 1861, McClellan being busily engaged in drilling and disciplining his army. In March, 1862, he moved his whole force to the peninsula between the York and James Rivers, and began an advance upon Richmond, pursuing General Johnston, who had hastily evacuated Yorktown and retreated, his rear being struck and defeated at Williamsburg. The first battle of importance took place on May 31, on which day Johnston suddenly assailed a portion of the Union army that had crossed the Chickahominy. Nothing but the hasty pushing forward of reinforcements prevented a serious disaster. Johnston was wounded in this engagement, and was succeeded by Robert E. Lee, who on the 1st of June was made commander-in-chief of the Confederate army of Northern Virginia.

Meanwhile, events of importance were occurring in the Shenandoah Valley, where Stonewall Jackson made that memorable march which gave him so sudden and brilliant a reputation. Striking rapidly north, he defeated Banks, and drove him, with severe loss, beyond the Potomac, and then drew back so rapidly as to slip unharmed between the columns of McDowell and Fremont, who were advancing across the mountains from the east and the west, hoping to catch their alert antagonist in a trap.

The removal of McDowell to the Valley gave General Lee an opportunity of which he took instant advantage. McClellan's line of communication with York River had been left exposed, and the new Confederate commander, calling Jackson to his aid from the Valley, fell upon the Union army with an impetuosity which it proved unable

to withstand. Thus began that remarkable series of battles which for seven days kept the cannon of the contending armies in unceasing roar.

An assault was made on Fitz-John Porter's post at Mechanicsville on June 26. He retired to his works on Beaver Dam Creek, where he was assailed on the 27th. Finding his lines flanked by Jackson's corps, he withdrew to a strong line of intrenchments at Gaines's Mills. Here he was exposed to a series of impetuous charges, in which the Confederates, after being several times repulsed, succeeded in gaining the crest of the ridge and breaking the Union lines. A retreat followed that was almost a panic, and only the approach of night put a stop to the slaughter which had decimated Porter's broken ranks.

During the next day a general retreat of the Union columns began, McClellan cutting loose from his base on the York, and moving back towards the James River. The victorious Confederates followed, and several severe battles occurred during the following days. The Union rear-guard, with great courage, checked the pursuit at successive points, and on the 1st of July a pitched battle took place at Malvern Hill, in which the whole forces of both armies were engaged, and in which the assault of the Confederates on the Union intrenchments was repulsed with great loss. It is asserted by many historians that Lee's army was almost in a panic, and that a Union advance in force at that moment must have routed them, and probably have placed Richmond in the hands of the Union army. Be that as it may, McClellan persisted in his plan of retreat. During the night Malvern Hill was deserted, and by nightfall of the next day the Union army was safely gathered at Harrison's Landing, under the protection of the gunboats on the James River. This position was immediately fortified, and Lee made no effort to assail it. The loss on both sides had been enormous, though that of the Unionists had been considerably the greater, while the main object of their campaign, the capture of Richmond, was completely frustrated.

Meanwhile, the three armies of Fremont, Banks, and McDowell had been massed into one, and placed under the command of General Pope, who had gained prominence by successes in the West. The design was to aid McClellan, but Lee's success rendered new plans necessary, and Pope's army was held between Richmond and Washington, as a cover to the latter city.

A covering force had become essential, for Lee soon began a series of bold movements which placed the seat of government in great

jeopardy. In August he advanced towards the Rapidan, a menace which so disconcerted the Federal authorities that McClellan was hastily recalled from the James, and ordered to transport his army with all haste to Washington. The Confederate force under Jackson was now sent on a rapid flanking march through Thoroughfare Gap in the Bull Run Mountains. Jackson reached the rear of Pope's army at Manassas Junction, at which point an immense quantity of army stores was captured, such as could not be carried off being destroyed.

Pope, finding that Jackson was in his rear, and separated from the remainder of Lee's army, marched rapidly upon him, hoping to destroy him before he could effect a junction with Longstreet. But this movement seems to have been ill managed. Thoroughfare Gap, through which alone Longstreet could come to Jackson's aid, was weakly held, and a junction between the two divisions of Lee's army was suffered to be made almost without opposition. The failure to overwhelm Jackson was ascribed by Pope to disobedience of orders on the part of Fitz-John Porter, and this general was subsequently court-martialled and dismissed the service, his explanation of the circumstances not being accepted as satisfactory.

The engagement with Jackson occurred on August 29. On the succeeding day the battle was renewed, Pope being now confronted by the whole of Lee's army. The conflict ended in a disastrous repulse of the Union army, it being driven beyond Bull Run, with serious loss. On the 31st, Pope fell back to Centreville, a point more immediately covering Washington. A minor conflict took place on the evening of that day, near Chantilly, in which Generals Kearney and Stevens were killed. Pope now resigned his command, having lost during the campaign about thirty thousand men, thirty guns, twenty thousand small-arms, and vast quantities of supplies and munitions. Lee's loss numbered about fifteen thousand men.

Up to this point Lee had been remarkably successful. He now entered upon a series of movements which ended in failure. Recognizing the fact that Washington was too strongly defended to be taken by an attack in front, he decided upon an invasion of Maryland, in the hope of bringing that State over to the support of the Confederacy and of obtaining large accessions to his ranks. Suddenly breaking camp, he made a hasty march to the Potomac, which he crossed on September 5 at Point of Rocks. Marching quickly to Frederick, he issued from that city an appeal to Maryland, calling upon it to throw off the

Northern yoke and join its sisters of the South. The appeal fell flat, and the volunteers he had hoped for failed to make their appearance in his ranks. His accessions did not equal the desertions from his army. So far, the enterprise was evidently a failure. It remained to obtain from it whatever advantage might be gained.

The gaps of South Mountain were occupied, and Jackson was sent to assail Harper's Ferry, whose garrison, through an error of judgment, had not been withdrawn. Taking possession of the heights which surrounded the town, a bombardment was commenced which forced an almost immediate surrender, the place being indefensible. On the morning of the 15th there were surrendered eleven thousand five hundred and eighty-three men, seventy-three guns, thirteen thousand small-arms, two hundred wagons, and a large store of supplies.

Meanwhile, the Union army under McClellan was hurrying after the invading force. Franklin was sent to the relief of Harper's Ferry, and succeeded in forcing Crampton's Gap, near that place. But he was too late. The surrender had taken place, and the Confederates were withdrawn. In this enterprise Lee had achieved an important and valuable success. In the succeeding events he was destined to receive the first check to his remarkably victorious career.

Boonsborough Gap, north of Crampton's, was strongly held by the Confederates, and was assaulted by the army under McClellan on September 14. Longstreet, who had advanced to Hagerstown, probably with the intention of invading Pennsylvania, was hastily recalled, and sent to reinforce Hill, who was being severely pushed at the Gap. After a desperately-contested conflict, the Union army succeeded in forcing its way through the mountains and reaching the opposite slope.

The defence of this pass had been necessary to Lee. His army was widely scattered, and the approach of McClellan rendered concentration indispensable. Jackson was marching in all haste from Harper's Ferry to Sharpsburg, having left A. P. Hill to receive the surrender of the garrison. The trains from Hagerstown were hurrying towards the same point. After their repulse at Boonsborough, Longstreet and D. H. Hill fell back, so that by the morning of the 16th the whole army, with the exception of the force left at Harper's Ferry, was concentrated at Sharpsburg, behind Antietam Creek, a stream which there flows into the Potomac. McClellan's army reached the opposite side of the stream on the same day. Of the events which followed we give an account in the words of Benson J. Lossing, from his "*Civil War in America.*"]

ON the morning of the 16th both armies were actively preparing for battle. The bulk of the Confederate forces, under Longstreet and D. H. Hill, stood along the range of heights between Sharpsburg and the Antietam, which flowed between the belligerents. Longstreet was on the right of the road between Sharpsburg and Boonsborough, and Hill on the left. Hood's division was posted between Hill and the Hagerstown road, north of Miller's farm, so as to oppose an expected flank movement in that direction; and near that point, in the rear, Jackson's exhausted troops were posted in reserve, his line stretching from the Hagerstown road toward the Potomac, and protected by Stuart with cavalry and artillery. Walker was posted on Longstreet's right with two brigades a little south of Sharpsburg, near Shaveley's farm. General Lee had his quarters in a tent, as usual, on the hill close by Sharpsburg, where the National Cemetery now is, and from that point he overlooked much of the country that was made a battle-field the next day.

Along the line of the Confederate army, the Antietam (a sluggish stream with few fords) was spanned by four stone bridges of like architecture, three of which were strongly guarded. McClellan made his head-quarters at the fine brick mansion of Philip Pry, about two miles northeast of Sharpsburg, east of the Antietam, and on each side of him in front his army was posted. On the right, near Keedysville, and on both sides of the Sharpsburg pike, stood the corps of Sumner and Hooker. In advance, on the right of the turnpike and near the Antietam, General Richardson's division of Sumner's corps was posted. In line with this, on the left of that road, was Sykes's regular division of Porter's corps, protecting bridge No. 2. Farther down the stream, on the left, and not far from No. 3, Burnside's corps was posted. Upon a ridge

of the first line of hills east of Antietam, between the turnpike and Pry's house, and in front of Sumner and Hooker, batteries of twenty-four-pounder Parrott guns, commanded by Captains Taft, Langner, and Von Kleizer, and Lieutenant Weaver, were planted. On the crest of the hill, above bridge No. 3, were batteries under Captain Weed and Lieutenant Benjamin. Franklin's corps and Couch's division were farther down in Pleasant Valley, near Brownsville, and Morrell's division of Porter's corps was approaching from Boonsborough, and Humphreys's from Frederick. A detachment of the Signal Corps, under Major Myer, had a station on Red Ridge, a spur of South Mountain, which overlooked the entire field of operations, and from that point it performed very important service. Such was the general position of the contending armies on the 16th of September.

The Confederates opened an artillery fire on the Nationals at dawn, but it was afternoon before McClellan was ready to put his troops in position for attack, the morning having been spent in reconnoitring, finding fords, and other preparations required by prudence. There was found to be a lack of ammunition and rations, and these had to be supplied from tardily-approaching supply-trains. Finally he was in readiness, and at two o'clock in the afternoon Hooker was ordered to cross the Antietam at and near bridge No. 1, with the divisions of Ricketts, Meade, and Doubleday, and attack and turn the Confederate left. Sumner was directed to throw over the stream during the night General Mansfield's corps (Twelfth), and to hold his own (Second) ready to cross early the next morning. Hooker's movement was successful. Advancing through the woods, he struck Hood, and, after a sharp contest, commenced with Meade's Pennsylvania Reserves, near the house of D. Miller, and which lasted until dark, the Con-

federates were driven back. Hooker's men rested that night on their arms upon the ground they had won from their foe. Mansfield's corps (divisions of Williams and Greene) crossed the Antietam during the evening in Hooker's track, and bivouacked on Poffenberger's farm a mile in his rear.

The night of the 16th was passed by both armies with the expectation of a heavy battle in the morning. Few officers found relief from anxiety, for it was believed by many that it might be a turning-point in the war. Only the commander-in-chief of the national army seems to have had a lofty faith that all would be well. He retired to his room at a little past ten o'clock, and did not leave it until eight o'clock the next morning, when the surrounding hills had been echoing the sounds of battle which had been raging within a mile of head-quarters for three hours. Then, with some of his aides, he walked to a beautiful grove on the brow of a declivity near Pry's, overlooking the Antietam, and watched the battle on the right for about two hours, when he mounted his horse and rode away to Porter's position, on the right, where he was greeted, as usual, by the hearty cheers of his admiring soldiers.

The contest was opened at dawn by Hooker, with about eighteen thousand men. He made a vigorous attack on the Confederate left, commanded by Jackson. Doubleday was on his right, Meade on his left, and Ricketts in the centre. His first object was to push the Confederates back through a line of woods, and seize the Hagerstown road and the woods beyond it in the vicinity of the Dunker church, where Jackson's line lay. The contest was obstinate and severe. The national batteries on the east side of the Antietam poured an enfilading fire on Jackson that galled him very much, and it was not long before the

Confederates were driven with heavy loss beyond the first line of woods, and across an open field, which was covered thickly in the morning with standing corn.

Hooker now advanced his centre under Meade to seize the Hagerstown road and the woods beyond. They were met by a murderous fire from Jackson, who had just been reinforced by Hood's refreshed troops and had brought up his reserves. These issued in great numbers from the woods, and fell heavily upon Meade in the cornfield. Hooker called upon Doubleday for aid, and a brigade under the gallant General Hartsuff was instantly forwarded at the double-quick, and passed across the cornfield in the face of a terrible storm of shot and shell. It fought desperately for half an hour unsupported, when its leader fell severely wounded.

In the mean time Mansfield's corps had been ordered up to the support of Hooker, and while the divisions of Williams and Greene, of that corps, were deploying, the veteran commander was mortally wounded. The charge of his corps then devolved on General Williams, who left his division to the care of General Crawford. The latter, with his own and Gordon's brigade, pushed across the open field and seized a part of the woods on the Hagerstown road. At the same time Greene's division took position to the left of the Dunker church.

Hooker had lost heavily by battle and straggling, yet he was contending manfully for victory. Doubleday's guns had silenced a Confederate battery on the extreme right, and Ricketts was struggling against a foe constantly increasing, but was bravely holding his ground without power to advance. The fight was very severe, and at length the national line began to waver and give way. Hooker, while in the van, was so severely wounded in the foot that he was taken from the field at nine o'clock, and

to McClellan's head-quarters at Pry's, leaving his command to Sumner, who had just arrived on the field with his own corps. Up to this time the battle had been fought much in detail, both lines advancing and falling back as each received reinforcements.

Sumner at once sent General Sedgwick to the support of Crawford and Gordon, and Richardson and French bore down upon the foe more to the left, when the cornfield, already won and lost by both parties, was regained by the Nationals, who held the ground around the Dunker church. Victory seemed certain for the latter, for Jackson and Hood had commenced retiring, when fresh troops under McLaws and Walker came to Jackson's support, seconded by Early on their left. These pressed desperately forward, penetrated the national line at a gap between Sumner's right and centre, and the Unionists were driven back to the first line of woods east of the Hagerstown road, when the victors, heavily smitten by the national artillery, and menaced by unflinching Doubleday, withdrew to their original position near the church. Sedgwick, twice wounded, was carried from the field, when the command of his division devolved on General O. O. Howard. Generals Crawford and Dana were also wounded.

It was now about noon, and fighting had been going on since dawn. The wearied right needed immediate support. It came at a timely moment. Franklin had come up from below, and McClellan, who remained on the east side of the Antietam, sent him over to assist the hard-pressed right. He formed on Howard's left, and at once sent Slocum with his division toward the centre. At the same time General Smith was ordered to retake the ground over which there had been so much contention and bloodshed. Within fifteen minutes after the order was given it was executed. The Confederates were driven from the open

field and beyond the Hagerstown road by gallant charges, accompanied by loud cheers, first by Franklin's Third Brigade, under Colonel Irwin, and then by the Seventh Maine. Inspired by this success, Franklin desired to push forward and seize a rough wooded position of importance; but Sumner thought the movement would be too hazardous, and he was restrained.

Meanwhile, the divisions of French and Richardson had been busy. The former, with the brigades of Weber, Kimball, and Morris (the latter raw troops), pushed on toward the centre, Weber leading; and, while he was fighting hotly, French received orders from Sumner to press on vigorously and make a diversion in favor of the right. After a severe contest with the brigades of Hill (Colquitt's, Ripley's, and McRae's) not engaged with Jackson, the Confederates were pressed back to a sunken road in much disorder. In the mean time, the division of Richardson, composed of the brigades of Meagher, Caldwell, and Brooks, which crossed the Antietam between nine and ten o'clock, moved forward to the attack on French's left. Right gallantly did Meagher fight his way up to the crest of a hill overlooking the Confederates at the sunken road, suffering dreadfully from a tempest of bullets; and when his ammunition was almost exhausted, Caldwell, aided by a part of Brooks's brigade, as gallantly came to his support and relief.

Hill was now reinforced by about four thousand men, under R. H. Anderson, and the struggle was fierce for a while, the Confederates trying to seize a ridge on the national left for the purpose of turning that flank. This was frustrated by a quick and skilful movement by Colonel Cross with his "Fighting Fifth" New Hampshire. He and the Confederates had a race for the ridge along parallel lines, fighting as they ran. Cross won it, and, being

reinforced by the Eighty-First Pennsylvania, the Confederates were driven back with a heavy loss in men, and the colors of the Fourth North Carolina. An effort to flank the right at the same time was checked by French, Brooks, and a part of Caldwell's force, and a charge of the Confederates directly on Richardson's front was quickly repulsed. The national line was steadily advanced until the foe was pushed back to Dr. Piper's house, near the Sharpsburg road, which formed a sort of citadel for them, and there they made an obstinate stand. Richardson's artillery was now brought up, and while that brave leader was directing the fire of Captain Graham's battery, he was felled by a ball that proved fatal. General W. S. Hancock succeeded him in command, when a charge was made that drove the Confederates from Piper's in the utmost confusion, and only the skilful show of strength by a few of his fresh troops prevented a fatal severance of Lee's line. The Nationals were deceived, and did not profit by the advantage gained. Night soon closed the action on the right and centre, the Unionists holding the ground they had acquired. In the struggle near the centre, the gallant General Meagher was wounded and carried from the field, and his command devolved on Colonel Burke, of the New York Sixty-Third.

During the severe conflicts of the day, until late in the afternoon, Porter's corps, with artillery, and Pleasonton's cavalry, had remained on the east side of the Antietam as a reserve, and in holding the road from Sharpsburg to Middletown and Boonsborough. Then McClellan sent two brigades to support the wearied right, and six battalions of Sykes's regulars were thrown across bridge No. 2, on the Sharpsburg road, to drive away the Confederate sharp-shooters, who were seriously interfering with Pleasonton's horse-batteries there. Warren's brigade was sent

more to the left, on the right and rear of Burnside, who held the extreme left of the national line. This brings us to a notice of the operations of the day under the directions of Burnside.

The left was resting on the slopes opposite bridge No. 3, at Rohrback's farm, a little below Sharpsburg, which was held on the morning of the 17th by the brigade of Toombs (Second and Twentieth Georgia), supported by sharpshooters and batteries on Longstreet's right wing, commanded by D. R. Jones. Burnside was directed, at eight o'clock in the morning, to cross that bridge, attack the foe, carry the heights on the opposite bank of the Antietam, and advance along their crest upon Sharpsburg. It was a task of the greatest difficulty, for the approaches to the bridge were in the nature of a defile, exposed to a raking fire from the Confederate batteries and an enfilading one from their sharpshooters. In several attempts to cross the bridge Burnside was repulsed. Finally, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, the Fifty-First New York and Fifty-First Pennsylvania charged across and drove the defenders to the heights. Gathering strength at the bridge by the crossing of the divisions of Sturgis, Wilcox, and Rodman, and Scammon's brigade, with the batteries of Durell, Clark, Cook, and Simmons, Burnside charged up the hill, and drove the Confederates almost to Sharpsburg, the Ninth New York capturing one of their batteries. Just then A. P. Hill's division, which had been hastening up from Harper's Ferry, came upon the ground, and under a heavy fire of artillery charged upon Burnside's extreme left, and after severe fighting, in which General Rodman was mortally wounded, drove him back almost to the bridge. In that charge General L. O'B. Branch, of North Carolina, was killed. The pursuit was checked by the national artillery on the eastern side of the stream,

under whose fire the reserves led by Sturgis advanced, and the Confederates did not attempt to retake the bridge. Darkness closed the conflict here, as it did all along the line.

Hill came up just in time, apparently, to save Lee's army from capture or destruction. Experts say that if Burnside had accomplished the passage of the bridge and the advance movement an hour earlier, or had Porter been sent a few hours sooner to the support of the hard-struggling right, that result would doubtless have ensued. It is easy to conjecture what might have been. We have to do only with what occurred. Looking upon the event from that stand-point, we see darkness ending one of the most memorable days of the war because of its great and apparently useless carnage, for the result was only hurtful in the extreme to both parties. With the gloom of that night also ended the conflict known as the Battle of Antietam, in which McClellan said (erroneously as to the number of troops) "nearly two hundred thousand men and five hundred pieces of artillery were for fourteen hours engaged. Our soldiers slept that night," he said, "conquerors on a field won by their valor and covered by the dead and wounded of the enemy."

When the morning of the 18th dawned, both parties seemed willing not to renew the strife. Lee was really in a sad plight, for he could not easily call to his aid any reinforcements; his supplies were nearly exhausted, and his army was terribly shattered and disorganized. A careful estimate has made his losses at that time, since he commenced the invasion of Maryland, a fortnight before, nearly thirty thousand men. McClellan's army was also greatly shattered; but on the morning after the battle he was joined by fourteen thousand fresh troops under Couch and Humphreys. It is certain now that with these, and

the effective remains of his army, he might easily have captured or ruined Lee's army that day. But there were grave considerations to be heeded. McClellan afterward said, "Virginia was lost, Washington menaced, Maryland invaded: the national cause could afford no risk of defeat." He therefore hesitated, and finally, in opposition to the advice of Franklin and others, he deferred a renewal of the battle until the next morning. When that morning dawned, and he sent his cavalry to reconnoitre, the national army had no foe to fight, for Lee, with his shattered legions, had recrossed the Potomac under cover of darkness, and was on the soil of his native Virginia, with eight batteries under Pendleton on the river-bluffs, menacing pursuers.

[On the 20th a portion of the Union army crossed the river in pursuit, and was repulsed with heavy loss. Lee retreated down the Shenandoah Valley, while McClellan, after considerable delay in reorganizing and refitting his forces, marched his army to Warrenton. His slowness gave such dissatisfaction to the authorities at Washington that on November 7 he was relieved from duty, and replaced by General Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac.]

THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

WILLIAM SWINTON.

[The military movements of 1861 and the opening period of 1862 in the East were paralleled by as active operations in the West, in which the successes of the Union armies more than counterbalanced the Confederate victories in Virginia. A brief review of these operations is here desirable, as preliminary to a more extended description of the important battle of Shiloh. Among the earliest military movements were those which took place in Missouri. A convention in that State decided against secession, and in favor of compromise. The governor, however, at once proceeded to act as if the State had seceded, refused

to furnish troops to the government, raised a militia, and attempted to seize the national arsenal at St. Louis. This was held by Captain Lyon, with five hundred regulars. Several conflicts succeeded, and, as the governor still sought to force the State into the Confederacy, a condition of actual war arose.

General (late Captain) Lyon defeated the State troops at Booneville, while, in retaliation, the governor took it on himself to declare the State seceded and to offer its aid to the Confederacy. General Fremont was now made commander of the troops in Missouri. A battle took place on August 10, at Wilson's Creek, in which Lyon was killed, while General Sigel, who had been sent to gain the enemy's rear, met with a disastrous repulse. Each side lost heavily, and the Confederates were unable to pursue the retreating Unionists. The armies on both sides gradually increased, until there were twenty-eight thousand Confederates and thirty thousand Unionists in the field. At this juncture Fremont was removed, as a punishment for issuing on his own authority a proclamation emancipating the slaves in his department. General Halleck, who eventually succeeded to the command of the Union forces, compelled the Confederate General Price to retreat to Arkansas. In February, 1862, General Curtis, at the head of a Union army, pursued Price into Arkansas. On March 7 a severe battle took place at Pea Ridge, in which Sigel completely routed the Confederate right, while on the next morning their whole army was forced to retreat. This ended all operations of any importance in Missouri and Arkansas. The bulk of both armies was transferred to the east of the Mississippi, and a few unimportant contests in Arkansas completed the war in that quarter.

Operations of more essential significance were meanwhile taking place in Kentucky and Tennessee. The political action of the former State resembled that of Missouri. The governor was of strong secession sympathies, but the legislature refused to support him in his purposes. The Unionists of the State were largely in the majority, and clearly showed their intention of supporting the administration, despite the rebellious sentiments of the governor. Yet the Confederate authorities felt it absolutely necessary to their cause to take military possession of the State, which was invaded on the west by General Polk, who seized Columbus, on the Mississippi, and by General Zollicoffer on the east. The first engagement took place at Belmont, on the Missouri side of the river, opposite Columbus. General Grant attacked and defeated the force at this place, but was himself assailed by a strong force

under General Polk, through which he was forced to cut his way. Grant brought off his guns and some of those of the enemy. His loss was four hundred and eighty men; that of Polk was six hundred and forty-two.

These preliminary operations were succeeded by a vigorous effort on the part of the Confederates to form a powerful defensive line on the rivers leading south. Columbus was strongly fortified, to prevent the descent of the Mississippi, while accessory forts were built on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, just within the borders of Tennessee,—that on the former river receiving the name of Fort Henry, that on the latter, of Fort Donelson. An intrenched camp was also made farther east, at Bowling Green in Kentucky, an important railroad-junction. This camp covered the city of Nashville.

In November, 1861, General Halleck was placed in command of the Western Department. He assigned to General Grant the district of Cairo, which also included Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee. The Confederate line of defence was placed under General A. S. Johnston. It was held by about sixty thousand men, while the post of Columbus was so strongly fortified that the Confederates believed that it would effectually close the Mississippi till the end of the war. In this particular they were destined to be quickly undeceived.

The proposed Union plan of operation was the reduction of Forts Henry and Donelson. For this purpose two armies were available, that of Grant at Cairo, with seventeen thousand men and some iron-clad gunboats, and that of Buell at Louisville, with forty thousand men. Halleck believed that if these forts were taken Columbus and Bowling Green must be abandoned, and Nashville fall into the Union hands. On January 30, 1862, Grant marched southward from Cairo along the Tennessee, the gunboats accompanying him on the river. On February 6 the gunboats attacked Fort Henry, which was reduced so quickly that the Confederate garrison escaped before Grant could get into position to cut off their retreat. He had been delayed by excessive rains, which flooded the roads.

Attention was now given to Fort Donelson, which was a strong work, about forty miles above the mouth of the Cumberland, with sixty-five pieces of artillery, and a garrison which was increased until it numbered twenty-one thousand men. Grant marched upon it from Fort Henry with fifteen thousand men, while the gunboats went round by way of the Ohio. The attack was made on February 14. The first assault by the gunboats and troops failed, but, as heavy Union rein-

forcements were coming up, General Floyd, who commanded in the fort, determined to abandon it and retreat. This design ended in failure. Grant had now reached the scene, and, perceiving the position of affairs, he ordered a general advance. This was pushed so vigorously that commanding points surrounding the fort were seized and retreat became impossible. During the night Floyd, with his Virginia brigade, made his escape by way of the river, and the next morning the fort was surrendered. Nearly fifteen thousand prisoners, seventeen thousand six hundred small-arms, and sixty-five guns were taken.

The effect of this great success was what Halleck had premised. The camp at Bowling Green was immediately evacuated, and Nashville abandoned. Buell at once occupied that city. Columbus, the "Gibraltar of the West," was quickly abandoned by General Polk, who fell back to Island No. 10. The first line of Confederate defence had been broken with remarkable ease and success. Nor did the Confederate misfortunes end here. Zollicoffer had invaded eastern Kentucky with five thousand men, and encamped at Mill Spring, in Wayne County. On January 17 he made a night-attack on the Union troops under General Thomas, encamped near him. The intended surprise failed, and the Confederates were driven back, Zollicoffer being killed. On the next day their camp was shelled, and there was reason to hope that the entire force would be captured. They escaped, however, during the night, leaving much material behind.

The next operations were directed against New Madrid and Island No. 10 on the Mississippi, near the northern border of Tennessee. These posts had been strongly fortified. General Pope commanded the assailing troops, and captured New Madrid with little difficulty. Thirty-three cannon and much other valuable war-material were here taken. Island No. 10 proved more difficult to capture. Yet by cutting a canal, twelve miles long, across a bend in the Mississippi, the gunboats were enabled to assail it on both sides, and Pope to transport his army across from Missouri to Tennessee. The advantages thus gained rendered the island untenable, and it was forced to surrender on April 8. There were captured six thousand seven hundred prisoners, one hundred heavy and twenty-four light guns, an immense quantity of ammunition, and many small-arms, tents, horses, wagons, etc. This capture was achieved without the loss of a single life on the Union side. The next battle took place between the Union and Confederate flotillas at Fort Pillow, above Memphis. Half the Confederate fleet was disabled. Soon afterwards the fort was abandoned, and the line

of defence carried south to Memphis. On the 5th of June an assault was made on the Confederate fleet at that place. It ended in the capture or destruction of the whole flotilla, except one boat, and the necessary fall of Memphis into Union hands. Thus was lost the most important railroad-centre on the Mississippi between St. Louis and New Orleans.

This rapid series of Union successes on the Mississippi was matched by important steps of progress on the Tennessee. Grant had been ordered to advance on the line of the Tennessee towards Corinth in northern Mississippi. A misunderstanding with Halleck, however, resulted in his removal from his command, which was given to General C. F. Smith. Sherman was ordered to advance, and break the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. He failed in this, on account of severe rains, and returned with some difficulty to Pittsburg Landing, which had been occupied at his suggestion. General Smith being now taken ill, Grant was restored to his command. Buell's force, of about forty thousand men, was ordered to join him, to counteract the Confederate concentration at Corinth. Johnston, the Confederate commander, becoming aware of these movements, determined to attack Grant before Buell could come up, hoping to take him by surprise. The Confederate advance began on April 3, with about forty thousand men. Grant had thirty-three thousand on the field. Lew Wallace's command of five thousand men was at a distance, and unable to aid immediately in the coming battle. On Sunday, April 6, the assault was made on Grant's outposts. The story of the battle that followed we select from Swinton's "Twelve Decisive Battles of the War."]

ON the westerly bank of the Tennessee, two hundred and nineteen miles from its mouth, is the historic spot of Pittsburg Landing. Its site is just below the great bend in the river, where, having trended many miles along the boundary-line of Alabama, it sweeps northerly in a majestic curve, and thence, flowing past Fort Henry, pours its waters into the Ohio. The neighboring country is undulating, broken into hills and ravines, and wooded for the most part with tall oak-trees and occasional patches of undergrowth. Fens and swamps, too, intervene, and at the spring freshets the back-water swells the creeks, inun-

dating the roads near the river's margin. It is, in general, a rough and unprepossessing region, wherein cultivated clearings seldom break the continuity of forest. Pittsburg Landing, scarcely laying claim, with its two log cabins, even to the dignity of hamlet, is distant a dozen miles northeasterly from the crossing of the three State lines of Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee,—a mere point of steamboat freighting and debarkation for Corinth, eighteen miles southwest, for Purdy, about as far northwest, and for similar towns on the adjoining railroads. The river-banks at the Landing rise quite eighty feet, but are cloven by a series of ravines, through one of which runs the main road thence to Corinth, forking to Purdy. Beyond the crest of the acclivity stretches back a kind of table-land, rolling and ridgy, cleared near the shores, but wooded and rough farther from the river. A rude log chapel, three miles out, is called Shiloh Church; and, just beyond, rise not far from each other two petty streams, Owl Creek and Lick Creek, which, thence diverging, run windingly into the Tennessee, five miles apart, on either side of the Landing.

On this rugged, elevated plateau, encompassed by the river and its little tributaries like a picture in its frame, lay encamped, on the night of the 5th of April, 1862, five divisions of General Grant's Army of West Tennessee, with a sixth, five miles down the bank, at Crump's Landing. . . .

The leading division of Buell's Army of the Ohio lay at Savannah, nine miles down the river, on the other bank. Wearied that night with their four days' march from Columbia, Nelson's men slept heavily. A long rest had been promised them, to be broken only the next day by a formal Sunday inspection, and leisurely during the week ensuing it would join the associate Army of West Tennessee; for

transportation had not yet been made ready for its passage of the river, nor had General Halleck yet come down from St. Louis to direct the movement on Corinth, for which it had marched. Behind Nelson, the rest of Buell's army trailed that night its line of bivouac-fires full thirty miles backward on the road to Columbia.

Silent in Shiloh woods yonder, within sight of Grant's camp-fires and within sound of his noisy pickets, lay, grimly awaiting the dawn, forty thousand Confederate soldiers. It was the third of the three great armies drawn together that night towards Pittsburg Landing,—an army supposed by its fourscore thousand dormant foes, from commanding general to drummer-boy, to be lying *perdu* behind its Corinth field-works, twenty miles away. It had crept close to the Union lines, three-fourths of a mile from the pickets, less than two from the main camp,—so close that throughout the night the bivouac hum and stir and the noisy random shots of untrained sentinels on the opposing lines indistinguishably mingled. This stealthily-moved host lay on its arms, weary after a hard day's march over miry roads on the 4th, a day's forming on the 5th, and a bivouac in the drenching rain of the night intervening. No fires were lighted on the advanced lines, and, farther back, the few embers glowing here and there were hidden in holes dug in the ground. Most of the men lay awake, prone in their blankets, or chatted in low tones, grouped around the stacked arms, awaiting the supplies which commissaries and staff-officers were hurrying from the rear; for, with the improvidence of raw troops, they had already spent their five days' rations at the end of three, and were ill prepared to give battle. But others, oppressed with sleep, had for the time forgotten both cold and hunger. . . .

Ere the gray of dawn, the advanced line of Johnston's

army, composed of Hardee's corps, strengthened on its right by Gladden's brigade from Bragg's, stealthily crept through the narrow belt of woods beyond which all night they had seen their innocent enemy's camp-fires blazing. No fife or drum was allowed; the cavalry bugles sounded no reveille; but, with suppressed voices, the subordinate officers roused their men, for many of whom, indeed, the knowledge of what was to come had proved too exciting for sound slumber. Bragg's line as quickly followed, and, in suit, the lines of Polk and Breckinridge.

By one of those undefinable impulses or misgivings which detect the approach of catastrophe without physical warning of it, it happened that Colonel Peabody, of the 25th Missouri, commanding the first brigade of Prentiss's division, became convinced that all was not right in front. Very early Sunday morning, therefore, he sent out three companies of his own regiment and two of Major Powell's 12th Michigan, under Powell's command, to reconnoitre, and to seize on some advance squads of the enemy, who had been reported flitting about, one and a half miles distant from camp, on the main Corinth road. It was the gray of dawn when they reached the spot indicated; and almost immediately, from long dense lines of men, coming swiftly through the tall trees, opened a rattling fire of musketry. It was the enemy in force. The little band fell back in haste, firing as best they might. Close on their heels pressed the whole of Hardee's line, and, enveloping the left of Prentiss's camp, stretched in a broad swath across to the gap between his division and Sherman's, and thence onward across Sherman's. Instantly the woods were alive with the rattle of musketry right and left, on front and flank. The Confederate batteries, galloping up on every practicable road and path, unlimbered in hot haste, and poured their shot over the head

of the infantry in the direction of the tents now faintly gleaming ahead. The startled infantry outposts, mechanically returning a straggling fire, yielded, overborne by the mighty rush of their enemy, and then streamed straight back to the main camps. The divisions of Sherman, Prentiss, and McClernand started from their peaceful slumbers amid the roar and smoke of battle. The exultant Confederates, creeping so long with painful reticence, now woke the forests with their fierce, long-pent yells. The flying pickets served, like avant-couriers, to point the way for their pursuers. And thus, with the breaking light of day, overhung by sulphurous battle-clouds, through which darted the cannon-flash, while the dim smoke curled forward through every ravine and road and enveloped the camps, Grant's army woke to the battle of Shiloh. . . .

At the height of the shouting, the forming of the troops, the spurring hither and thither of the aides, the fastening of belts and boxes, and the dressing of laggards, the enemy's advance with loud yells swept through the intervening forest and burst upon the camps.

It was now about seven o'clock, and the resistance of the Union picket-line, feeble as it necessarily was, had been of priceless service in gaining time, while the rough and impracticable interval over which the Confederates had to pass served to break up somewhat as well as to extend and thin their lines. There seems to have been no special tactical formation, nor any massing of men on a key-point: the key-point, if any there was, had not been discovered. The movement, in short, was predicated on a surprise, and the method, to fling the three corps-deep lines of the Army of the Mississippi straight against the Union army from creek to creek, to "drive it back into the Tennessee." As for the Union generals, overwhelmed with surprise and chagrin, they could only strike back

where the enemy struck, seeking above all to save the camps. Such was the nature of the confused, irregular, but bloody series of conflicts which now raged for three hours, during which time the Union troops succumbed, and yielded the first breadth of debatable ground.

[Onward swept the Confederates, gaining ground, now on the right, now on the left, till before nine o'clock they were in full possession of Prentiss's camp. By ten o'clock the Union forces generally had yielded to the impetuous onset, and the camping-ground of nearly the whole line was in the hands of the foe. The plundering of the camps, which their generals could not hinder, detained them for a time, while the Union commanders were doing their best to re-form their broken lines. For five hours the battle went on confusedly, the Union troops being forced slowly back to the Landing, the nature of the ground, rolling, wooded, and cleft by ravines, enabling them to protract their defence. Both lines were badly broken up, and the different brigades mingled, each side fighting with no definite plan, other than to hold their ground on the one side and to advance on the other. Later on, the Confederates made a desperate effort to turn the Union left, capture their base at the Landing, and drive them down the river. This effort was vigorously opposed, and during the hard fighting at this point a ball struck the Confederate commander, General Johnston, wounding him severely. He continued on his horse, unheeding the bleeding, and before long reeled and fell from the saddle, quickly expiring. General Beauregard succeeded to the Confederate command.]

It was now three o'clock, and the battle was at its height. Dissatisfied with his reception by Wallace, on the Corinth road, Bragg, on hearing of Johnston's fall, on the right, determined to move round thither and try his success anew. He gathered up the three divisions already spoken of, and, with specific orders of attack, flung them against Hurlburt, Stuart, and Prentiss. The assault was irresistible, and, the whole left of the Union position giving way, Bragg's column drove Stuart and Hurlburt to the Landing, and swept through Hurlburt's camp, pillaging it like those of Prentiss, Sherman, Stuart, and McClernand. Simulta-

neously, Polk and Hardee, rolling in from the Confederate left, forced back the Union right, and drove all Wallace's division, with what was left of Sherman's, back to the Landing,—the brave W. H. L. Wallace falling in breasting this whelming flood. Swooping over the field, right and left, the Confederates gathered up entire the remainder of Prentiss's division,—about three thousand in number,—with that officer himself, and hurried them triumphantly to Corinth.

At five o'clock the fate of the Union army was extremely critical. Its enemy had driven it by persistent fighting out of five camps, and for miles over every ridge and across every stream, road, and ravine, in its chosen camping-ground. Fully three thousand prisoners and many wounded were left in his hands, and a great part of the artillery, with much other spoils, to grace his triumph. Bragg's order, "Forward! let every order be forward;" Beauregard's order, "Forward, boys, and drive them into the Tennessee," had been filled almost to the letter, since near at hand rolled the river, with no transportation for reinforcements or for retreat. Before, an enemy flushed with conquest called on their leaders for the *coup de grâce*. What can be done with the Union troops? Surely the being at bay will give desperation. Unhappily, the whole army, greatly disorganized all day, was now an absolute wreck; and such broken regiments and disordered battalions as attempted to rally at the Landing often found the officers gone on whom they were wont to rely. Not the divisions alone, but the brigades, the regiments, the companies, were mixed up in hopeless confusion, and it was only a heterogeneous mass of hot and exhausted men, with or without guns as might be, that converged on the river-bank. The fugitives covered the shore down as far as Crump's, where guards were at length posted to try to

catch some of them and drive them back. The constant "disappearance," as the generals have it, of regiments and parts of regiments since morning, added to thousands of individual movements to the rear, had swarmed the Landing with troops enough—enough in numbers—to have driven the enemy back to Corinth. Their words were singularly uniform: "We are all cut to pieces." General Grant says he had a dozen officers arrested for cowardice on the first day's battle. General Rousseau speaks of "ten thousand fugitives, who lined the banks of the river and filled the woods adjacent to the Landing." General Buell, before the final disaster, found at the Landing stragglers by "whole companies and almost regiments; and at the Landing the bank swarmed with a confused mass of men of various regiments. There could not have been less than four thousand or five thousand. Late in the day it became much greater." At five o'clock "the throng of disorganized and demoralized troops increased continually by fresh fugitives," and intermingled "were great numbers of teams, all striving to get as near as possible to the river. With few exceptions, all efforts to form the troops and move them forward to the fight utterly failed." Nelson says, "I found cowering under the river-bank, when I crossed, from seven thousand to ten thousand men, frantic with fright and utterly demoralized." Of the troops lately driven back, he expressed the want of organization by saying the last position "formed a semicircle of artillery totally unsupported by infantry, whose fire was the only check to the audacious approach of the enemy." Even this was not all. The Confederates, sweeping the whole field down to the bluff above the Landing, were already almost upon the latter point. Such was the outlook for the gallant fragments of the Union army at five o'clock on Sunday.

[A precipitous ravine, near the Landing, now somewhat checked the pursuit, while the Union gunboats at this point began raking the hostile lines. A powerful battery was arranged along the ravine, forty or fifty guns being posted in a semicircular line. At the same time the advance of Nelson's division, which had just crossed the river, rushed forward to take part in the battle.]

Already now the Confederates were surging and recoiling in a desperate series of final charges. Warned by the descending sun to do quickly what remained to be done, they threw forward everything to the attempt. Their batteries, run to the front, crowned the inferior crest of the ravine, and opened a defiant fire from ridge to ridge, and threw shells even across the river into the woods on the other bank. Their infantry, wasted by the day's slaughter, had become almost disorganized by the plunder of the last two Union camps, and a fatal loss of time ensued while the officers pulled them out from the spoils. The men, still spirited, gazed somewhat aghast at the gun-crowned slope above them, whence Webster's artillery thundered across the ravine, while their right flank was swept by broadsides of eight-inch shells from the Lexington and Tyler. "Forward" was the word throughout the Confederate line. Bragg held the right, on the southerly slope of the ravine, extending near the river, but prevented from reaching it by the gunboat fire; Polk the centre, nearer the head of the ravine; while Hardee carried the left beyond the Corinth road. At the latter point the line was half a mile from the water, and four hundred yards from the artillery on the bluffs. There were few organizations, even of regiments, on the Union side, but a straggling line from Wallace's and other commands, voluntarily rallying near the guns, was already opening an independent but annoying fire; and these resolute soldiers were as safe as the torrent of fugitives incessantly pouring

down to the Landing, among whom the Confederate shells were bursting. Again and again, through the fire of the artillery, the gunboats, and Ammen's fresh brigade, and the severe flanking fire of troops rallying on the Union right, the Confederates streamed down the ravine and clambered up the dense thickets on the other slope. Again and again they were repulsed with perfect ease, and amid great loss; for, besides their natural exhaustion, the commands had been so broken up by the victory of the day and by the scramble for the spoils that while some brigades were forming others were charging, and there was no concerted attack, but only spontaneous rushes by subdivisions, speedily checked by flank fire. And when once some of Breckinridge's troops, on the right, did nearly turn the artillery position, so that some of the gunners absolutely abandoned their pieces, Ammen, who had just deployed, again and finally drove the assailants down the slope.

Confident still, flushed with past success, and observing the Union *débâcle* behind the artillery, Bragg and Polk urged a fresh and more compact assault, on the ground that the nearer they drew to the Union position the less perilous were the siege-guns and gunboats. But the commander-in-chief had been struck down, and Beauregard, succeeding to supreme responsibility, decided otherwise. Bitterly then he realized the lack of discipline and organization in his army, entailed by the jealousy and ill-timed punctiliousness of Richmond. Victory itself had fatally disordered his lines, and the last hard task of assault had thrown them back in confusion from the almost impregnable position. Better to withdraw with victory than hazard final defeat; for already the sun was in the horizon, and the musket-flashes lit up the woods. The troops were all intermingled, and several brigade commanders

had been encountered by the general, who did not know where their brigades were. Since darkness already threatened to leave the army in dense thickets under the enemy's murderous fire, all that was left of the day would be required in withdrawing so disorganized a force. Buell could not have got more than one division along those miry roads to the river. It was a day's work well done: to-morrow should be sealed what had auspiciously begun. Thus reasoning, Beauregard called off the troops just as they were starting on another charge, and ordered them out of range. Then night and rain fell on the field of Shiloh.

[During the night Grant's army was heavily reinforced. Three divisions of Buell's army, Nelson's, Crittenden's, and McCook's, had crossed the Tennessee by Monday morning, while Lew Wallace's division of Grant's army, which had been led into a wrong route in its march from Crump's Landing on the previous day, came up at night-fall of Sunday. Twenty-seven thousand fresh troops had thus been added, while Grant's disorganized troops were gradually brought back into fighting trim. There were thus nearly fifty thousand men against about thirty thousand left to the Confederate army. By half-past five the advance began, Nelson and Crittenden marching steadily on the Confederate position. By six o'clock the battle opened, and by seven the advancing Union line reached Beauregard's front, where a determined resistance was encountered.]

The ground on which the Confederates stood was substantially that of the camps of Prentiss, Sherman, and McClernand, which, having been occupied in bivouac the night preceding, now lay a little in rear of the line of battle. This line stretched in front of Lick and Owl Creeks, and across all the roads so often described. The dawn of day found the Confederates very much disorganized. No time, however, was lost. The early advance of Nelson caused a rapid gathering and assorting of the disordered and shattered fragments of Beauregard, who

met the onset with so firm a front that Nelson found himself checked. At length Crittenden's division came up to Nelson's right, and Mendenhall's battery, hurrying across, engaged the Confederate batteries and stayed the infantry advance. Despite their fatigue, Beauregard was already hurling his concentrated columns to an attack on his right; he had engaged all of Nelson and Crittenden, and before eight o'clock had also fallen upon Rousseau's brigade of McCook's division, which had just then completed its formation on Crittenden's right. At eight o'clock, Cheatham's division, which had been posted hitherto, awaiting orders, in the rear of Shiloh Church, was thrown in, in front of Buell, on Breckinridge's line. The fire on the Confederate right, which had before been hot, was now redoubled, and rolled across all three of Buell's divisions. So severe was the artillery fire that Hazen's brigade was thrown across the open field into the fringe of woods where two batteries were posted, in order to dislodge them. Buell was then at Hazen's position, and in person gave the command "Forward!" which ran echoing along the line and was obeyed with a cheer. These troops had never before been in battle, but were in splendid drill and discipline, and moved forward in the best possible order. They soon caught the enemy's volleys, but did not slacken their pace; for it was a novel experience, and they did not resort, like veterans, to trees or cover. Driving in some outlying infantry supports, of whom not a few were sent as prisoners to the rear, Hazen, after half a mile of advance, got upon the batteries themselves. But at this moment the gallant brigade received a cross-fire from both flanks from the rallied enemy, and, being without support on either hand, was forced to fall back, with a loss of one-third of its men. The sally had been a little too impetuous, so much so as to break up the or-

ganization ; but it was one quite natural at so early a day in the war, and was a mistake in the right direction.

[About nine o'clock the Confederates succeeded in turning Nelson's left flank, but were driven back, while Lew Wallace and Grant's other forces pressed heavily upon their left, forcing them to recede. The ground at this point was hotly contested, both sides gaining temporary advantages, but by one o'clock Nelson had swung round the Confederate right and gained a firm hold on that part of the field.]

Let us turn now to McCook. On Crittenden's right Rousseau's brigade was early engaged, sustaining the attack of eight o'clock, and the heavier succeeding ones. Meanwhile, Kirk's brigade and a part of Gibson's had been ferried across from Savannah, hurried to the ground, and were deployed by McCook in short supporting distance to the right and rear of Rousseau. Willich's regiment he held in reserve behind his second line. McCook shared the varying fortunes of the morning, till the gradual giving way of the Confederate right by ten o'clock. Then Rousseau, finding his advance no longer checked, moved onward till he encountered the troops withdrawn to the Corinth road from Nelson's front. Here a fierce and long-contested engagement took place, the Confederates forming in McClernand's camp, to which they clung with desperation, but which at length they were forced to abandon to Rousseau, together with a battery captured the day before, of which one section had been playing on Rousseau's advance. But, as the Union line swept forward, McCook and Crittenden had become separated, and a counter-attack on McCook's left threatened to turn it, and was the signal for a fierce struggle. There then came a lull, and at one o'clock the battle began with fresh fury. McCook had reached a key-point in the Confederate line, a green wood about five hundred yards east of the church. Two batteries, one next the church and the other nearer

the Hamburg road, swept the open space with grape and canister in front of the green wood, and the musketry fire was very severe. Grant hurried forward what aid he could to McClernand, Hurlburt putting in the remainder of his division, and Sherman appearing with his brigades. "Here," says Sherman, "at the point where the Corinth road crosses the line of General McClernand's camp, I saw for the first time the well-ordered and compact Kentucky forces of General Buell, whose soldierly movement at once gave confidence to our newer and less disciplined forces. Here I saw Willich's regiment advance upon a point of water-oaks and thicket, behind which I knew the enemy was in great strength, and enter it in beautiful style. Then arose the severest musketry fire I ever heard, and lasted some twenty minutes, when this splendid regiment had to fall back." Indeed, the conflict, arising on McCook's left, had spread all along his front and over that of Crittenden. Willich's regiment, having passed through Kirk's brigade, to the front, was thrown across to the green wood, in double column on the centre, with the flank companies skirmishing in advance. Then it received the overpowering attack which Sherman witnessed. At this juncture Kirk's brigade got into position on McCook's left, and Rousseau, who had expended all his ammunition in the morning's battle, retired through it to the rear for a fresh supply. Gibson was next thrown in on Kirk's left. For an hour a terrific contest went on, the Confederates holding their position tenaciously, and sometimes even taking the offensive. Finally, at two o'clock, Rousseau's brigade again moved to the front, supported by one of Hurlburt's brigades on the left and by McClernand on the right. McCook had no artillery; but the three uncaptured guns of Wood's battery and two of McAllister's were turned by McClernand and Sherman

against the enemy. Finding the Confederates at last giving way before him, McCook ordered a general advance, and Rousseau's brigade, "beautifully deployed," says Sherman, "entered the dreaded wood, and moved in splendid order steadily to the front, sweeping everything before it." Indeed, the battle was already decided. At half-past one o'clock, Beauregard had issued orders to withdraw from the field. The last desperate fighting covered the attempt, and the final Union advance at two o'clock was comparatively unresisted. The withdrawal commenced on the Confederate right, in front of Nelson, and was transmitted to the left. At the latter point, Lew Wallace had steadily swung forward, participating in the varying fortunes of the day. His division also, at two o'clock, finding the obstinate enemy giving way, burst through the woods, easily carrying all before them. The Confederate retreat was conducted with perfect order and precision. Half a mile distant from Shiloh Church, on a commanding ridge, a reserve, selected for that purpose, was drawn up in line of battle for the expected attack.

It did not come. Having wasted half an hour, the line was withdrawn a mile further. Here the artillery played for a time upon a small Union column advanced in pursuit; but no engagement took place, and even this desultory firing ceased by four o'clock. The battle of Shiloh was over.

[This battle was followed by a concentration of all the Union armies of the West, and an advance on Corinth, General Halleck taking command. His army, in round numbers, now amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men. That of Beauregard had been increased to about fifty thousand. The advance was made so slowly and cautiously that the Confederates, who had decided to evacuate Corinth, succeeded in getting out all their war-material before Halleck reached there, on the 30th of May. The place was at once strongly fortified as a Union stronghold. Shortly afterwards, on June 6, the naval

battle at Memphis, above described, took place, and that town was captured. All West Tennessee and Northern Mississippi were now in Union hands, and highly-important progress had been made in the labor of conquering the West and South. Grant remarks that up to the battle of Shiloh he had shared in the general belief that a decisive Union victory would cause the sudden collapse of the Confederacy. The stand of the Confederates after that battle taught him differently. He perceived now that complete conquest was necessary. Sherman seems to have been of this opinion from the first.]

FARRAGUT ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

J. T. HEADLEY.

[The rapid series of successes won by the armies of the West in early 1862, which gave them the full control of the Mississippi as far south as Memphis, was paralleled by as important a victory on the lower section of the river, which caused the fall of New Orleans, and left only the section of the river between that city and Memphis to be opened and occupied. The achievement in question was accomplished by the navy, and constituted one of the most brilliant and striking events of the war. Preceding a description of it, some brief review of the general operations of the navy is desirable.

In August, 1861, an expedition was sent to Hatteras Inlet, by which Fort Hatteras was captured. In November of the same year a powerful land and naval force was sent to the coast of South Carolina. This assailed Port Royal Harbor, forced the surrender of the forts, and captured the post. It proved an important conquest, from its giving the North a convenient naval dépôt on the Southern coast, and the control of the richly-fertile Sea-Island district. Fort Pulaski, one of the defences of Savannah, was also captured, and that city closely blockaded, while several coast cities in Florida were occupied. About the same time the English mail-steamer Trent was overhauled by Captain Wilkes, of the sloop-of-war San Jacinto, and Mason and Slidell, two Confederate commissioners to Europe, were forcibly taken from her. This unwarranted affair, which was at first sustained by the government,

caused danger of war between the United States and England, which was avoided by a somewhat ungracefully performed acknowledgment of error and surrender of the prisoners. The United States was clearly in the wrong, but circumstances rendered it difficult to admit it immediately, in face of the enthusiastic popular indorsement of the action.

In March, 1862, the port of New-Berne, in North Carolina, was captured by the fleet, and in April Fort Macon, commanding the entrance to Beaufort harbor, was taken. Roanoke Island was also occupied. These successes gave control of the whole coast of North Carolina, and aided greatly in making the blockade effective. The next naval operation was directed against the lower Mississippi, with the eventual object of the capture of New Orleans. Vigorous efforts had been made by the Confederates to render this stream impassable, by the erection of strong forts and batteries, the arming of gunboats, and the building of iron-clad vessels, which were to be superior in strength to the Merrimack. Two large steam-ships of this class were being prepared, of about fourteen hundred tons each, to be strongly plated, and each mounted with twenty of the heaviest guns. One only of these, the Louisiana, was completed in time to take part in the subsequent battle. Powerful rams and fire-rafts were also prepared, while the navigation of the river was obstructed by six heavy chains, carried across the stream on a line of dismantled schooners. This was placed about a mile below the forts. The story of the succeeding events, which partly negatived the lesson taught by the exploits of the Merrimack, and proved that wooden vessels might, under certain circumstances, successfully encounter iron-plated ones, is told with much vividness of description in Headley's "Civil War in America."]

THE month of April closed gloriously for the national cause in the Valley of the Mississippi; for it gave us New Orleans, the most important city of the Southern Confederacy, and thus made certain to us the final possession of the entire river.

Captain Farragut, with a fleet of gunboats, and Porter, with a mortar-fleet, had long since left our Northern waters for some unknown point. Much anxiety had been felt for its success; and when at length news was received that it had left Ship Island, where it was known to have rendez-

voused, for New Orleans, accompanied by a land-force under Butler, great fears were entertained of its ability to force the formidable barriers that blocked the river below the city.

Two forts, Jackson and St. Philip, nearly opposite each other, the former very strong and casemated, the two mounting in all two hundred and twenty-five guns, commanded the approach. In addition to these, a heavy chain had been stretched across the channel, buoyed upon schooners, and directly under the fire of the batteries, so that any vessels attempting to remove it could be sunk. There were, besides, heavily-mounted iron-clad gunboats, ponderous rams, before whose onset the strongest ship would go down, and fire-rafts and piles of drift-wood, ready to be launched on our advancing vessels. It was believed by the rebels that nothing that ever floated could safely pass all these obstructions; but should some few by a miracle succeed, bands of young men were organized in New Orleans to board them at all hazard and capture them.

Such were the obstacles that presented themselves to Farragut and Porter as they, in the middle of April, slowly steamed up the mighty river.

It was laborious work getting the fleet over the bars at the mouth of the Mississippi, and up the rapid stream, to the scene of action, for the mortar-boats were not steamers. Weeks were occupied in it, and the North almost began to despair of hearing any good report of the expedition, and eventually it was quite lost sight of in the absorbing news from the upper Mississippi and the Tennessee. But, though shut out from the world, its gallant commanders were quietly but energetically preparing for the herculean task assigned them.

Six war-steamers, sixteen gunboats, twenty-one mortar-

vessels, with five other national vessels, among them the *Harriet Lane*, Porter's flag-ship, making in all nearly fifty armed vessels, constituted the entire force. It was a formidable fleet, but it had formidable obstacles to overcome.

On the 18th the bombardment commenced, and the first day nearly two thousand shells were thrown into the forts. Some burst beyond them, others in mid-air, and some not at all, while hundreds fell with a thundering crash inside the works, cracking the strongest casemates in their ponderous descent. On one side of the river the mortar-vessels lay near some trees on the bank, and the men dressed the masts in green foliage to conceal their position. Decked out as for a Christmas festival, they could not be distinguished at the distance of the forts from the trees, so that the enemy had only the smoke that canopied them for a mark to aim at. On the other side, tall reeds fringed the banks, and the vessels in position there were covered with rushes and flags and daubed with Mississippi mud, which sadly confused the artillerists in the forts. The exact distance from the spot where they lay anchored, to the forts, had been determined by triangulation, conducted by the Coast Survey party under Captain Gurdes. The surveys to accomplish this had been performed under the fire of the enemy, and great coolness and daring were shown by the party. The sailors had wondered at the presence of a Coast Survey vessel, carrying a crew armed with nothing more formidable than surveying-instruments, save a few pocket revolvers, but it was now seen that science must first prepare the way before the heavy shells could perform their appropriate work.

Early in the morning of the day on which the bombardment commenced, the rebels set adrift a huge flat-boat piled with pitch-pine cord-wood in a blaze. As it came down the stream, the flames roared and crackled like a burning

forest, while huge columns of black smoke rose in swift, spiral columns skyward. As it drifted near, two of our advanced vessels hastily slipped their cables and moved down stream. At first it was feared the blazing structure might contain torpedoes or explosive machines of some kind, and rifled shot were thrown into it. But it floated harmless by, lighting up the muddy stream as it receded. In order to be prepared for another, Captain Porter ordered all the row-boats of the flotilla to be prepared with grapnels, ropes, buckets, and axes. At sunset this fleet of a hundred and fifty boats was reviewed, passing in single line under the Harriet Lane, each answering to the hail of the commander, "Fire-buckets, axes, and ropes?" "Ay, ay, sir."

About an hour afterward, just as night had set in, a huge column of black smoke was seen to rise from the river in the vicinity of the forts. Signal-lights were immediately hoisted on all the vessels, and the next moment a hundred boats shot out in the darkness, ready for action. A fire-raft was on its fearful way, lighting up the broad bosom of the Mississippi with its pyramid of flame, and sending the sparks in showers into the surrounding darkness. It made a fearful sight, and seemed well calculated to accomplish its mission of destruction. On it came, slowly and majestically, swinging easily to the mighty current, when suddenly the Westfield opened her steam-valves and dashed fearlessly into the burning pile. Burying herself amid the crashing timbers and flying sparks, her captain turned a hose upon it, and a stream of water as from a fire-engine played upon the lurid mass. The next moment the crowd of boats approached—the bronzed faces of the sailors, with buckets and ropes, standing out in bold relief in the broad glare—and fastened to the horrid phantom. Then, pulling with a will, they slowly

towed it ashore, where they left it to consume ignobly away. It was bravely done, and as the boats returned they were cheered by the entire fleet.

For a whole week the bombardment was kept up, while shot and shell from the enemy fell in a constant shower amid the squadron.

The gunners on the mortar-boats were getting worn out, and, when released from the guns, would drop down exhausted on deck. They began at last to grumble at the inactivity of the larger vessels.

At length Farragut determined to run the rebel batteries, engage the gunboats and rams beyond, and then steam up to New Orleans, cost what it would. The chain had been cut a few nights before, and the schooners that sustained it were trailing along the river bank. On the 23d of April, everything being ready, at two o'clock signal lanterns were hoisted from the Hartford's mizzen peak, and soon the boatswain's call, "Up all hammocks," rang over the water. It was known the evening before that the desperate conflict would come off in the morning, and there was but little sleep in the fleet that night. The scene, the hour, and the momentous issues at stake made every man thoughtful. Not a breeze ruffled the surface of the river; the forts were silent above; the stars looked serenely down, while the deep tranquillity that rested on shore and stream was broken only by the heavy boom, every ten minutes, of a gun from the boats on watch. But the moment those two signal lanterns were run up on the flag-ship, all this was changed. The rattling of chains, the heaving of anchors, and commands of officers transformed the scene of quietness into one of bustle and stern preparation. In an hour and a half everything was ready, and the flag-ship, followed by the Richmond and Brooklyn and six gunboats, turned their prows up the river, steering

straight for Fort Jackson. The Pensacola, Mississippi, Oneida, and Varuna, under Captain Bailey, with four gunboats, came next, and were to engage Fort Philip. The Harriet Lane, Westfield, Owasco, Miami, Clifton, and Jackson, under Porter, came last, and were to take position where they could pour an enfilading fire of grape and shrapnel into Fort Jackson while Farragut hurled his heavy broadsides into it in front. As soon as the fleet started on its terrible mission, all the mortar-boats opened their fire, and, canopied by the blazing shells, that, crossing and recrossing in every direction, wove their fiery net-work over the sky and dropped with a thunderous sound into the doomed works, the flag-ship, accompanied by her consorts, steamed swiftly forward through the gloom. As soon as they came within range, signal rockets darted up from the low fortifications, and the next instant the volcano opened. Taking the awful storm in perfect silence, Farragut kept steadily on till he was close abreast, when his broadsides opened. As each ship came up, it delivered its broadside, and on both sides of the river it was one continuous stream of fire, and thunder-peal that shook the shores like an earthquake. For half an hour it seemed as if all the explosive elements of earth and air were collected there. The vessels did not stop to engage the forts, but, delivering their broadsides, swept on towards the gunboats beyond. Fire-rafts now came drifting down the tide, lighting up the pandemonium with a fiercer glare, and making that early morning wild and awful as the last day of time. The shot and shell from nearly five hundred cannon filled all the air, and it seemed as if nothing made with human hands could survive such a storm. The Ithaca, with a shot through her, was compelled to drop out of the fight, in doing which she came under the close fire of the fort, and was completely riddled, yet, strange

to say, only two of her crew were struck. Exploding shells filled the air, hot shot crashed through the hulls, yet the gallant fleet, wrapped in the smoke of its own broadsides, moved on in its pathway of flame, while the river ahead was filled with fire-rafts and iron-clad gunboats, whose terrible fire, crossing that of the fort, swept the whole bosom of the stream. Sharp-shooters crowded the rigging, dropping their bullets incessantly upon our decks, yet still the commander's signal for close action streamed in the morning breeze, and still that fleet kept on its determined way. An immense iron-clad vessel, the *Louisiana*, lay moored near Fort Jackson, armed with heavy rifled guns, which sent the shot through and through our vessels, while ours rattled like peas on her mailed sides. The famous ram *Manassas* came down on the flag-ship, pushing a fire-raft before her. In attempting to avoid the collision, Farragut got aground, when the raft came plump alongside. The flames instantly leaped through the rigging, and ran along the sides of his vessel, and for a moment he thought it was all up with him. But, ordering the hose to turn a stream of water upon the fire, he succeeded in extinguishing it, and, backing off, again poured in his broadsides.

The *Varuna*, Captain Boggs, attacked the rebel gunboats with such fury that he sunk five in succession, their dark hulls disappearing with awful rapidity under the turbid waters. Even then his work was not done, for a ram came driving full upon him. He saw at once he could not avoid the collision, and knew that his fate was sealed. But, instead of hauling down his flag, he resolved, since he could not save his ship, to carry his adversary down with him, and, bidding the pilot throw the vessel so that her broadsides would bear on the vulnerable part of the rebel, he sternly received the blow. The sides of the

Varuna were crushed by it as though made of egg-shells. As the ram backed off, the water poured in like a torrent, and he ordered the pilot to run her, with all steam on, ashore. In the mean time his broadsides, fired at such close range, made fearful openings in the enemy's hull, and she too began to settle in the water, and attempted to haul off. But those terrible broadsides were too swift for her, and they were poured in till the gun-carriages were under the water. The last shot just skimmed the surface as the hissing guns became submerged, and the gallant vessel went down with her flag flying, carrying her dead with her. A more fitting tomb for them could not be found than the hull of that immortal boat.

A boy, named Oscar, only thirteen years old, was on board, and during the hottest of the fire was busily engaged in passing ammunition to the gunners, and narrowly escaped death when one of the terrific broadsides of the enemy was poured in. Covered with dirt and begrimed with powder, he was met by Captain Boggs, who asked where he was going in such a hurry: "To get a passing-box, sir; the other was smashed by a ball." When the Varuna went down, Boggs missed the boy, and thought he was among the killed. But a few minutes after he saw the lad gallantly swimming towards the wreck. Clambering on board, he threw his hand up to his forehead, in the usual salute, and with the simple, "All right, sir: I report myself on board," coolly took up his old station. Though a boy, he had an old head on his shoulders, and, if he lives and is given an opportunity, will be heard from in the future.

The Kineo was accidentally run into by the Brooklyn, and badly stove, yet she fought her way steadily forward, though receiving twelve shots in her hull, and, with twelve others, passed the terrible ordeal. The description

of the conduct of one boat is a description of all. Though riddled with shot from the forts, they closed in with the rebel gunboats so fiercely that in an hour and a half eleven went to the bottom of the Mississippi.

The victory was won, and the combat ended, yet the maddened enemy could not wholly surrender, and the ram *Manassas* came down on the *Richmond*. The *Mississippi*, seeing her intentions, instantly steamed towards her, when the affrighted crew ran her ashore. Even after the surrender was made, and while terms of capitulation were being agreed on, the rebels cut adrift the *Louisiana*, which had cost nearly two millions of dollars, and sent her down past the fort amid our mortar-fleet. She failed, however, to do any damage, and soon went ashore.

The forts being passed, New Orleans was ours; yet still the former, though completely cut off, refused to surrender.

Farragut sent Captain Boggs in an open boat through a bayou, inland, to Porter, to report his success. One would have thought from his letter that he had encountered scarcely more than pretty stormy weather. "We have had a rough time of it, as Boggs will tell you," he says, and then proceeds to tell him that as soon as he goes to New Orleans he will come back and finish the forts.

The next morning he steamed up towards the astonished city. The inhabitants had deemed it unapproachable by any naval armament whatever, and in their fancied security were building vessels of offensive warfare that soon would have given us far more trouble than the *Merimack*. Lovell, in command of the troops in the city, immediately left, for it lay completely at the mercy of our vessels. The mayor undertook to avoid the humiliation of a formal capitulation, and wrote a ridiculous letter to the commander; but it mattered little how it was done,—

the great commercial port of the Confederate States surrendered, and the most difficult part of opening the navigation of the Mississippi was accomplished.

THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

ADAM BADEAU.

[The capture of the defences of the upper Mississippi, and the fall of New Orleans with the forts that covered it, by no means completed the task of opening the great Western river, four hundred miles of which remained under Confederate control. Two strongly-fortified places, Vicksburg on the north and Port Hudson on the south, with an intermediate intrenched position at Grand Gulf, defended this portion of the river, and were destined to give the Union armies no small trouble before they could be taken and the river again made a national highway. Before describing the movements by which this great purpose was effected, it is necessary to bring up our review of Western events to the date of these operations.]

The advance of Lee into Maryland had its parallel in a vigorous northward raid made by Bragg in the West, in which he crossed the national line of defence and advanced nearly to the Ohio. The capture of Corinth by the Union forces had been succeeded by some important military operations, which may be briefly epitomized. Chattanooga, a town situated on the Tennessee River just north of the Georgia State line, and on the eastern flank of the Cumberland Mountains, became now a point of great military importance, and Buell was ordered to occupy it with his army. He commenced his march on June 10, 1862, but moved too deliberately to effect his purpose. Bragg, the Confederate commander, as soon as he discerned the object of Buell's march, hastened with the greatest rapidity to the place, and took firm possession of it before Buell could reach it. The latter was forced to retreat, and reinforcements were sent him from Grant's army, to strengthen him against an advance by Bragg. This fact was taken advantage of by Price and Van Dorn, who confronted Grant with a force of considerable strength. They made movements intended to

induce Grant to weaken his army still further, hoping for an opportunity to seize Corinth. Grant at once assumed the offensive. Rosecrans was sent to Iuka, to which place Price had advanced. He reached this place on September 19. A battle ensued, which ended in both sides holding their ground. During the night, however, the Confederates decamped, and marched too rapidly to be overtaken. On October 3, Van Dorn and Price in conjunction assailed Rosecrans at Corinth, Grant being then at Jackson. Rosecrans had about twenty thousand men. The Confederates had about forty thousand, and made their assault with great vigor and persistency. Their charge on the works, however, ended in a severe and sanguinary repulse and a hasty retreat, in which they were pursued for sixty miles. They lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about nine thousand men. The Union loss was about two thousand four hundred.

While these operations were taking place, Bragg was engaged in an invasion of Kentucky that threatened disaster to the Union cause. He marched actively northward with an army of fifty thousand men, reaching the line of the Nashville and Louisville Railroad at Munfordsville, whose garrison he captured. A division of his army, under Kirby Smith, marched from Knoxville, and at Richmond, Kentucky, routed General Manson. Smith claimed to have killed and wounded one thousand and taken five thousand prisoners, with a valuable spoil in arms, ammunition, and provisions. He then passed through Lexington, and reached Cynthiana.

This raid had necessitated a rapid reverse movement on the part of Buell, who was forced with all haste to march from southern Tennessee to the Ohio, a distance of three hundred miles. From Munfordsville Bragg moved to Frankfort, where he formed a junction with Kirby Smith. The one had made feigned movements against Nashville, and the other against Cincinnati, but intercepted despatches taught Buell that their true object was Louisville, and to this place he hastened with all speed. Bragg had moved too slowly. He had been six weeks in marching from Chattanooga to Frankfort. Yet he would have captured Louisville but for detention by a burnt bridge, which enabled Buell to get in advance. The latter had hastened north with the utmost speed, leaving a garrison at Nashville, and reaching Louisville on September 25. He found that city in a panic. At this point he was reinforced by troops from all quarters, till his army reached the number of one hundred thousand men.

Meanwhile, Bragg had issued a proclamation to the Kentuckians,

in emulation of that which Lee had issued in Maryland, and with like unsatisfactory results. The people of Kentucky had fully decided to remain in the Union. Bragg's foraging-parties scoured and devastated the surrounding country, carrying off all the spoil they could find. Men were conscripted and forced into his army. He now commenced a deliberate retreat, while Buell advanced upon him. A severe battle took place on October 8 at Perryville, in which both sides lost heavily and neither gained a decisive advantage. Bragg's retreat, however, continued, and he reached Chattanooga without further loss. Buell's movements in pursuit were so annoyingly slow that he was removed from his command by the government and replaced by Rosecrans. Bragg's expedition, so far as political ends were concerned, had proved a failure. He had, however, carried off vast quantities of provisions and clothing.

New movements quickly supervened. Rosecrans at once reorganized his army, and concentrated it at Nashville. Bragg had hardly reached Chattanooga before he was ordered to march northward again. He reached Murfreesborough, to the south of Nashville, whence he sent out detachments of cavalry to cut Rosecrans's communications, and where he indulged in Christmas festivities, with Davis, the Confederate President, as his guest. Yet Rosecrans had no intention of remaining idle. He made a sudden march on December 26, drove back the Confederate outposts, and on the 30th confronted Bragg, who was stationed two miles in front of Murfreesborough. Rosecrans had forty-three thousand and Bragg sixty-two thousand men. A battle took place at this point on the 31st, Bragg assailing with such strength as to drive back the right wing of the Union army. The next division, commanded by Sheridan, held its own with much energy, but was finally forced back, though in unbroken order. The other divisions were obliged to follow.

So far the advantage had been with the Confederates. But Rosecrans readjusted his army, formed a new line, and awaited the triumphant advance of his foe. The assault was tremendous, but it was met with a withering fire of musketry and artillery, and, though four times repeated, the Union line remained unbroken. A fresh division of seven thousand men was brought forward and assailed Rosecrans's left flank, but with the same ill fortune. Night fell, the closing night of 1862. On New-Year's day the armies faced each other without a renewal of the battle. So they continued till the 3d, Rosecrans strongly intrenching his position. On the night of the 3d Bragg secretly with-

drew, leaving his antagonist in possession of the battle-field, though too much crippled to pursue. Each army had lost about one-fourth of its whole force. Rosecrans had lost more than a third of his artillery, and a large portion of his train. But he had bravely held his ground, and taught his enemies that the Ohio River was beyond their reach. The Cumberland Mountains were thenceforward to be the boundary of the Confederacy in that quarter.

The military events in the West during 1863 were of the utmost importance, ending in the opening of the Mississippi and the capture of Chattanooga. The first achievement had been attempted by Farragut, immediately after the taking of New Orleans. He sent a part of his fleet up the river, captured Baton Rouge and Natchez, and advanced to Vicksburg. This city refused to surrender, and was bombarded by Farragut, who ran the batteries with his fleet. Orders from Washington checked these operations, there being no land-force ready to co-operate, and the fleet being unable to silence the batteries.

In the autumn of 1862 Grant made his first efforts towards his projected reduction of Vicksburg. His army was now large, and he advanced, driving Pemberton, the Confederate commander at Vicksburg, before him. Sherman was sent with a strong force to march down the Mississippi, while Grant moved by an inland route, to take the city in the rear. His scheme was frustrated by an unforeseen event. Holly Springs had been established as his *dépôt* of supplies. Van Dorn, with the Confederate cavalry, made a rapid movement to Grant's rear, and captured this place, then guarded by only a single regiment, on December 20. The vast stores that had been accumulated, valued at more than two millions of dollars, were destroyed by fire. Grant was forced to give up his overland route, and move to the river.

In the mean time, Sherman had reached the vicinity of Vicksburg. At this locality a line of high bluffs border the river, with but a narrow space between them and the stream. The Yazoo River joins the Mississippi above the city, while the surrounding soil is cut by numerous deep bayous, and the low lands are very swampy. A fortified line, fifteen miles in length, had been constructed along the bluffs. Sherman made a strong but ineffectual assault upon the fortifications, and found that the Confederates were being reinforced so rapidly, while he was surrounded with such difficulties, that he was obliged to abandon the expedition. The only success gained was the reduction of a stronghold on the Arkansas River, which had served as a basis for steamboat

expeditions against his line of supplies. Here five thousand prisoners and much valuable material were taken.

The fortifications at Vicksburg were now strengthened until it became an exceedingly strong post. Grand Gulf and Port Hudson, farther down the river, were also fortified. Against these strongholds the efforts of the Western armies were now mainly directed. General Banks, aided by Farragut's fleet, entered upon the siege of Port Hudson, while Grant put forward all his strength against Vicksburg, assisted by the gunboats under Admiral Porter. The Army of the Tennessee now numbered one hundred and thirty thousand men, of whom fifty thousand men took part in the expedition against Vicksburg. Porter had a fleet of sixty vessels, carrying two hundred and eighty guns and eight hundred men.

Grant arrived and took command of the expedition on January 30, 1863. The first plan of operations adopted was to dig a canal across the neck of land made by a wide bend in the river at Vicksburg, with the hope that the Mississippi would take this new course and abandon the city. Two months were spent on this, yet a rise in the river rendered the labor unavailing, by overflowing all the surrounding space. Then strenuous efforts were made to transport the fleet and army below Vicksburg by way of the bayous and larger streams that bordered the river. Efforts of this kind were made both east and west of the river, but in both cases without success. The surrounding country meanwhile was so overflowed and marshy as to interfere greatly with land-operations. It was next determined to run the batteries with the fleet. The night of the 16th of April was fixed for this exploit. It was achieved with much greater success than had been expected. Several of the vessels were wrecked, but the great bulk of the fleet passed in safety. A land-force had been sent down west of the river, to meet the vessels. The next project was to attack the fortifications at Grand Gulf, fifty miles below. An assault by the fleet on this place proved futile. A land-force was then carried across the river, which attacked and carried Port Gibson and defeated several detachments in the field. The successes thus gained rendered Grand Gulf untenable, and it was evacuated, and taken possession of by Grant's army.

It was now early May. Three months had been spent in the operations against Vicksburg, and it was still as far from capture as ever. Grant's whole army was now in the vicinity of Grand Gulf, and a new system of operations was adopted. Cutting loose from all lines of communication, he marched out into the open country, determined

to subsist his army on the people, defeat all the defenders of Vicksburg in the field, and carry that place by assault from the rear. General J. E. Johnston commanded the Confederate forces in the field, and several engagements ensued, in all of which the Union army was successful. The city of Jackson was captured, and Pemberton, who marched out from Vicksburg to co-operate with Johnston, was defeated and forced to retreat to his intrenchments. Grant rapidly pursued, and on the 19th of May took possession of the outer works of the Vicksburg lines, definitely shutting the enemy within his fortifications. The important post of Haines' Bluff was taken, and communication opened with the fleet.

The campaign had lasted twenty days. In that time Grant had marched two hundred miles, beaten two armies in five successive battles, captured twenty-seven heavy cannon and sixty-one pieces of field-artillery, taken six thousand five hundred prisoners, and killed and wounded about six thousand men. He had forced the evacuation of Grand Gulf, seized Jackson, the State capital, destroyed thirty miles of railroad, and ended by investing the stronghold of Vicksburg. Starting with two days' rations, he had subsisted his army on the country, and reached his goal with a loss in all of four thousand three hundred and thirty-five men.

Taking it for granted that Pemberton's men were in no condition for an effective resistance, an assault was immediately made on the works, and another on the 22d, both of which were repulsed, the Union forces losing heavily. The works proving far too strong, and the approaches too difficult, for success by this method, siege-operations were determined on, and ground was broken on the 23d of May. Of the events which succeeded we select a description of the more interesting particulars from Badeau's "*Military History of Ulysses S. Grant.*"]

GRANT had now about forty thousand men for duty, and, on the 23d, orders were given for the axe and the shovel to support the bayonet. The hot season was at hand, the troops had already endured many hardships, they were almost altogether unprovided with siege-material: so that the difficulties before the national army were not only formidable, but peculiar. The engineer organization was especially defective: there were no engineer troops in the entire

command, and only four engineer officers, while twenty would have found ample opportunity for all their skill. Several pioneer companies of volunteers were, however, used for engineering purposes, and, although raw at first, became effective before the close of the siege. There were no permanent dépôts of siege-material; spades and picks were kept at the steamboat-landing on the Yazoo, and in the camps near the trenches; gabions and fascines were made as they were needed, by the pioneer companies, or by details of troops from the line. Grant's artillery was simply that used during the campaign, with the addition of a battery of naval guns of larger calibre, loaned him by Admiral Porter. There was nothing like a siege-train in all the West, no light mortars, and very few siege-howitzers nearer than Washington; and there was not time to send to Northern arsenals for supplies. With such material and means the siege of Vicksburg was begun.

[Camps were made for the men, most of them within six hundred yards of the Confederate parapets. Stores were accumulated at the landing, and roads and covered ways opened from camp to camp.]

The first ground was broken on the 23d of May, and batteries placed in the most advantageous positions to keep down the enemy's fire. Lines of parapet, rifle-trench, and covered way were then constructed to connect these batteries. The enemy seldom showed his guns, hardly attempting, indeed, to prevent the besiegers from getting their artillery into position; for the slightest exposure or demonstration on the part of the rebels excited the liveliest fire from the national batteries, and the advantage was always in favor of the latter, as they could bring to bear a much larger number of guns than the enemy. This, and the remarkable activity and vigilance of Grant's sharp-shooters, in a great measure kept down the fire of

the besieged. The enemy, however, was undoubtedly scant of ammunition, and anxious to husband what he had, for more effective use at closer quarters.

The connecting parapets, as well as all other available positions within rifle-range, were kept occupied by a line of sharp-shooters during daylight, and by trench-guards and advanced pickets after dark. Whenever an approach gave opportunity, loop-holes were formed, by piling sand-bags and pieces of square timber on the parapets, or logs and stumps when these were more convenient: the men were thus enabled to shelter themselves completely. This timber was rarely displaced by the enemy's fire; but, had the rebel artillery opened heavily, splinters must have become dangerous to the besiegers. The positions of the national sharp-shooters were generally quite as elevated as those occupied by the rebels; and the approaches, running along the hill-sides and up the slopes in front of the enemy's works, were lower than the besieged, so that the sappers and working parties could not be molested by the rebels without very great exposure on their own part to sharp-shooters of the attacking force. So effective was this system that by the end of the first fortnight nearly all the artillery of the enemy was either dismounted or withdrawn, and the rebels scarcely ever fired.

[Pioneers and negroes did the greater part of the work, which was mainly left to men ignorant of siege-operations and obliged to depend on their native ingenuity. Yet the Yankee fertility of resource stood the workers in good stead. Gabions and fascines were made of grape-vine and split cane, and mortars for close service were made of wooden cylinders with iron bands shrunk on them. The parapets were made but six or eight feet thick, on account of the feeble nature of the enemy's fire, the embrasures being closed, when not firing, by plank shutters or movable timbers. The ground was seared by ravines, rugged and difficult, but this condition aided the rapid advance of the works.]

The aggregate length of the trenches was twelve miles. Eighty-nine batteries were constructed during the siege, the guns from those in the rear being moved forward as the siege advanced. The troops were moved on at the same time, and encamped in the rear of batteries, at the heads of ravines. On the 30th of June there were in position two hundred and twenty guns, mostly light field-pieces; one battery of heavy guns, on the right, was manned and officered by the navy. . . .

While the investment of Vicksburg was thus proceeding, the menacing attitude of Johnston had early attracted Grant's attention, and made it necessary to establish a strong corps of observation in the rear. . . . It was soon learned that Johnston had been joined by at least ten thousand fresh troops; and Grant was thus made reasonably certain that the rebels would endeavor to raise the siege, attacking from the northeast, with all the men they could command. . . . On the 26th [of May] Grant sent a force of twelve thousand men, under Blair, to drive off a body of the enemy supposed to be collecting between the Big Black River and the Yazoo. This command was not expected to fight Johnston, but simply to act as a corps of observation, and to destroy all forage, stock, roads, and bridges as it returned. Blair moved along the Yazoo about forty-five miles, and effectually accomplished the purpose of his expedition, preventing Johnston from moving upon Vicksburg in that direction, and also from drawing supplies in the fertile region between the two rivers. He was absent nearly a week, and reconnoitred the whole region thoroughly.

On the 31st Grant wrote, "It is now certain that Johnston has already collected a force from twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand strong at Jackson and Canton, and is using every effort to increase it to forty thousand.

With this he will undoubtedly attack Haines' Bluff and compel me to abandon the investment of the city, if not reinforced before he can get here." Admiral Porter was accordingly requested to direct a brigade of amphibious and useful troops at his disposal, known as the Marine Brigade, to debark at Haines' Bluff and hold the place until relieved by other forces. . . . On the 7th [of June] the enemy, nearly three thousand strong, attacked Milliken's Bend, which, however, was successfully defended by black and white troops under Brigadier-General Dennis, ably assisted by the gunboats Choctaw and Lexington. . . . On the 8th of June another division of troops, under Brigadier-General Sooy Smith, arrived from Memphis, and was ordered to Haines' Bluff, where Washburne was now placed in command. This place had again become of vital importance; for if the national forces should be compelled to raise the siege, and yet remain in possession of Haines' Bluff, with undisputed control of the Mississippi River, they could still concentrate resources for a new effort, either against the city itself or its means of supply.

[This bluff lies on the Yazoo, northeast of Vicksburg. It is very precipitous, and commands the approach to Vicksburg from the north. Below this river the bluffs border a broad alluvial space, cut by numerous streams, until they touch the Mississippi at Vicksburg, twelve miles below. Johnston, as soon as he learned that Pemberton had been driven into Vicksburg and lost his hold on this commanding point, had ordered him to evacuate the city, as no longer tenable, and thus save his troops. Pemberton declined to do this, until the extension of Grant's lines from river to river around the city rendered it impossible. Haines' Bluff was now ordered to be strongly fortified and obstinately held. Reinforcements continued to arrive until Grant's force amounted to seventy-five thousand men.]

On the 21st of June, Grant received curious information through the rebel pickets: the national works had now

approached so close to those of the besieged that the two picket-lines were within hail of each other; and one of the rebels made an agreement with a national sentinel that they should lay down their arms and have a talk. The rebel declared that Grant's cannonading had killed and wounded a great many in the rifle-pits; that the besieged had fully expected another assault, and been prepared to meet it; but, as no assault was made, the troops had been canvassed by their officers, to see if they could not be got outside to attack the "Yankees." Not only was this declined, but many were ready to mutiny because their officers would not surrender. The men, however, were reassured, and told that provisions enough remained to last them seven days more: in that time two thousand boats would be built, and the besieged could escape by crossing the Mississippi River. The rebel finished by announcing that houses in Vicksburg were now being torn down to get material for the boats.

This singular story excited attention, and preparations were made to render abortive any such attempt at escape as had been described. Admiral Porter was warned, the pickets were redoubled at night, and material was collected to light up the river should a large number of boats attempt to cross. Batteries also were got ready behind the levee on the western bank; but the attempt was never made.

[On the 22d information was received that Johnston was crossing the Big Black River, with the intention to march upon Grant. Sherman was sent out with a strong force to confront him.]

A line of works was now constructed from the Yazoo to the Big Black River, quite as strong as those which defended Vicksburg, so that the city was not only circumvallated, but countervallated as well. In case of an attack,

Johnston would have been obliged to assault Grant's rear, under the same disadvantages that Grant himself had encountered in attacking Vicksburg. Grant's position, however, was at this time peculiar, if not precarious. He was again between two large rebel armies: besieging one, he was himself threatened with a siege by the other; while, if both combined to assault him from different sides, it seemed quite possible that the garrison of Vicksburg, that splendid prize for which he had been so long struggling, might even yet elude his grasp. He might be compelled to throw so much strength on his eastern front that the besieged could succeed in effecting their escape by some opposite and comparatively unguarded avenue. To prevent this contingency was the object of unceasing vigilance. It would not do to go out after Johnston, lest the prey inside should evade the toils that had been spread so carefully; and yet, while Grant remained in his trenches enveloping the city, his own communications and base were threatened from outside. Haines' Bluff was once more an object of immense solicitude, and the Big Black had again become the line of defence; but this time it was a defence to national troops against the rebels; for Grant now, in part, faced east, and the men of the South were striving to fight their way to the Mississippi.

[Johnston had written to Pemberton on May 29 that he was too weak to save him without co-operation on his part. On June 14 he wrote him, "By fighting the enemy simultaneously at the same points of his line, you may be extricated: our joint forces cannot raise the siege of Vicksburg."]

The garrison, meanwhile, was suffering for supplies. Pemberton was particularly short of percussion-caps, and his scouts contrived, occasionally, to elude the pickets of Grant and transmit this information to Johnston. Supplies, in consequence, were sent as far as Grant's lines, but

were generally captured; in several instances, however, caps were successfully conveyed to the besieged, sometimes two hundred thousand at a time, canteens full of caps being carried by rebel scouts in the national uniform and suddenly thrown across the picket-line. After the assaults in May, the ammunition scattered in the trenches was collected by the rebels, and even the cartridge-boxes of the dead, in front of the works, were emptied.

The meat-ration was reduced by Pemberton at first to one-half, but that of sugar, rice, and beans, at the same time, largely increased. Tobacco for chewing was impressed, and issued to the troops. After a while, all the cattle in Vicksburg was impressed, and the chief commissary was instructed to sell only one ration a day to any officer. At last four ounces of rice and four of flour were issued for bread,—not half a ration. Still, on the 10th of June, Pemberton sent word to Johnston, "I shall endeavor to hold out as long as we have anything to eat. Can you not send me a verbal message by carrier, crossing the river above or below Vicksburg, and swimming across again, opposite Vicksburg? I have heard nothing of you or from you since the 25th of May." In the same despatch he said, "Enemy bombard night and day from seven mortars. He also keeps up constant fire on our lines with artillery and musketry." On the 15th, "We are living on greatly-reduced rations, but I think sufficient for twenty days yet." . . .

The price of food in the town had by this time risen enormously. Flour was five dollars a pound, or a thousand dollars a barrel (rebel money); meal was one hundred and forty dollars a bushel; molasses, ten and twelve dollars a gallon; and beef (very often oxen killed by the national shells and picked up by the butchers) was sold at two dollars and two dollars and a half by the pound. Mule-meat

sold at a dollar a pound, and was in great demand. Many families of wealth had eaten the last mouthful of food they possessed, and the poorer class of non-combatants was on the verge of starvation. There was scarcely a building that had not been struck by shells, and many were entirely demolished. A number of women and children had been killed or wounded by mortar-shells, or balls; and all who did not remain in the damp caves of the hill-sides were in danger. Even the hospitals where the wounded lay were sometimes struck, for it was found impossible to prevent occasional shells falling on the buildings, which of course would have been sacred from an intentional fire.

Fodder was exhausted, and the horses were compelled to subsist wholly on corn-tops, the corn being all ground into meal for the soldiers. In the conversations that nightly occurred between the pickets, the rebels were always threatened with starvation, even if another assault should fail. For the pickets of both armies were good-natured enough, and often sat down on the ground together, bragging of their ability to whip each other. . . . Incidents like these relieved the tedium of the siege to those outside, and lessened some of its horrors for the rebels. A favorite place for the meetings was at a well attached to a house between the lines: hither, after dark, the men from both sides repaired, slipping outside their pickets in search of the delicious draught; for water was scarce, and at this point there was none other within a mile. The house was unoccupied, having been riddled with shot from both besiegers and besieged, and over the broken cistern the rebel and national soldiers held their tacit truce, a truce which neither ever violated.

[Mining and countermining were now attempted. Grant fired a heavy mine on the 25th of June. It made a deep crater, into which the troops rushed. But the Confederates had suspected the intention,

and withdrawn to an inner line, and no important advantage was gained. On July 1 another mine was sprung. This blew up an entire redan, and injured the inner Confederate works. No assault, however, was made, the last having proved so ineffective.]

A continuous siege, and a mighty battle imminent. A citadel surrounded by land and water. The bombardment almost incessant. The beleaguered garrison reduced to quarter rations; living on mule-meat, and thinking it good fare. The population of the town hiding in caves to escape the storm of mortar-shells exploding in their streets. A squadron thundering at their gates, by night as well as by day. Mines trembling beneath their feet. What rare news came from Johnston far from cheering; all hope indeed of succor quite cut off. Ammunition almost expended. The lines of the besieger contracting daily; his approaches getting closer, his sharp-shooters more accurate; his sap-rollers steadily rising over the hills that Vicksburg had proudly declared impassable. Every day some new battery opening from an unexpected quarter; every day the position detected from which to-morrow still another battery would surely begin its fire. To crown all, after a few more contractions of the coil, another mighty assault would bring the enemy immediately beneath the walls, when, covered by their works, and more numerous than the besieged, the assailants, in every human probability, would storm the town, and all the unutterable horrors to which fallen cities are exposed might come upon the devoted fortress. . . .

By the 1st of July the approaches in many places had reached the enemy's ditch. At ten different points Grant could put the heads of regiments under cover, within distances of from five to one hundred yards of the rebel works, and the men of the two armies conversed across the lines. The hand-to-hand character of the recent fighting showed

that little further progress could be made by digging alone, and Grant accordingly determined to make the final assault on the morning of the 6th of July. Orders were issued to prepare the heads of approaches for the easy debouche of troops, to widen the main approaches so that the men could move easily by fours, and to prepare planks and sand-bags filled with pressed cotton, for crossing ditches.

Johnston was moving up at the same time. On the night of the 1st he encamped between Brownsville and the Big Black River, and on the 3d sent word to Pemberton that about the 7th of the month an attempt to create a diversion would be made, to enable the garrison to cut its way out. This attack, however, was never made. The movement to Brownsville was the last operation undertaken for the relief or the defence of Vicksburg.

[On the morning of July 3, Pemberton wrote to Grant, proposing an armistice, in order to arrange terms for the capitulation of the city. Grant replied that "the useless effusion of blood you propose stopping by this course can be ended at any time you may choose, by the unconditional surrender of the city and garrison." After some further debate, in which Pemberton protested against the stringency of these terms, and desired that his men should be permitted to march out with their muskets and field-guns, he agreed to Grant's proposal, the latter promising to parole his prisoners. Ten o'clock on the morning of the 4th of July was fixed as the hour of the surrender. Sherman was directed to march against Johnston the moment the surrender should be consummated.]

At ten o'clock of Saturday, the 4th of July, the anniversary of American independence, the garrison of Vicksburg marched out of the lines it had defended so long, and stacked its arms in front of the conquerors. All along the rebel works they poured out, in gray, through the sally-ports and across the ditches, and laid down their colors, sometimes on the very spot where so many of the

besiegers had laid down their lives ; and then, in sight of the national troops, who were standing on their own parapets, the rebels returned inside the works, prisoners of war. Thirty-one thousand six hundred men were surrendered to Grant. Among these were two thousand one hundred and fifty-three officers, of whom fifteen were generals. One hundred and seventy-two cannon also fell into his hands, *the largest capture of men and material ever made in war.*

[On the 8th of July, as soon as the news of the surrender of Vicksburg had reached the defenders of Port Hudson, that place surrendered to Banks, and the Mississippi, from its source to the sea, became once more a highway of the United States of America.]

LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN AND MISSIONARY RIDGE.

THOMAS B. VAN HORNE.

[After the fall of Vicksburg the centre of military operations was shifted to Chattanooga, which became the scene of the most peculiar and dramatically interesting conflict of the war. Before describing this "battle above the clouds," a review of the events succeeding the battle of Murfreesborough is necessary. After that conflict no active measures were taken for six months, Rosecrans awaiting the reduction of Vicksburg. He moved at length, on the 16th of June, with an army of sixty thousand men. Bragg had forty-six thousand, who were strongly intrenched at Tullahoma and points in its vicinity, guarding the railroad from Nashville to Chattanooga. Rosecrans made a flank movement on this army, threatening to turn its right, upon which Bragg hastily abandoned his intrenchments and fell back to Bridgeport, Alabama. A nine days' march, over roads rendered almost impassable by excessive rains, had gained this important advantage. Bragg continued his retreat to Chattanooga, destroying the railroad as

he went. He lost six thousand men, mainly by desertion and straggling. Rosecrans followed, rebuilding the railroad as he advanced, and on August 16 began to cross the Cumberland Mountains. Two other events of importance accompanied these. On June 27, John H. Morgan was sent North on a cavalry raid. He crossed the Ohio into Indiana, rode through this State and Ohio, and circled around Cincinnati, doing great damage along his route. He was unable to recross the river, however, and was obliged to surrender, with his men, on July 26. The other event was the expedition of Burnside to East Tennessee. This general, then in command of the Department of the Ohio, with twenty thousand men, marched towards Knoxville on August 16. After a very difficult journey over the Cumberland Mountains, he reached Knoxville on September 9, and compelled it to surrender. This gave him control of East Tennessee, and completed the conquest of that State. Buckner, who was at Knoxville with ten thousand men, marched to reinforce Bragg.

Before describing the subsequent events, the situation of Chattanooga needs to be outlined. At this point are several parallel ranges of the Appalachian mountain-system, with intermediate valleys, in one of which the town is situated, on the south bank of the Tennessee River. Southwestwardly from the town run several ranges, known, from west to east, as Raccoon Mountain, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Pigeon Mountain, and Chickamauga Hills. The town lies in the mouth of the valley between Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. The former is a lofty and rugged elevation, about two thousand four hundred feet high, ending abruptly near the town.

Rosecrans again made a flank movement, crossing the ridges to the south of Chattanooga, and occupying the several valleys. On the 20th of August his left wing reached the north bank of the Tennessee, from which he shelled Chattanooga on the 21st. Bragg, finding that his communications were threatened by the advance of Thomas and McCook into the mountain-gaps, abandoned Chattanooga on September 8, and moved southward. He had no intention of definitely retreating, however. He had been heavily reinforced, and concentrated his army at Lafayette, while the three corps of Rosecrans's army were widely separated by mountain-ridges. Had Bragg assumed the offensive when he first wished to, a serious Union disaster might have resulted. But he was delayed by the insubordination of his officers, and meanwhile Rosecrans, realizing the true situation, began to concentrate his army. Before this was fully accomplished Bragg fell upon

him with his whole force. The advance of a strong reinforcement, under Longstreet, reached him from Virginia on the 18th. On the morning of the 19th the two armies stood face to face, and the battle of Chickamauga began with a vigorous Confederate assault. The battle continued during the day, and ended indecisively, neither side having lost ground. During the night the remainder of Longstreet's men came up.

The assault was renewed on the morning of the 20th, Rosecrans having in the mean time covered his front with breastworks. It continued till mid-day without decisive result. Shortly afterwards, however, by an unfortunate misapprehension of orders, a gap was opened in the Union lines, of which the Confederates took instant advantage, pushing into the opening and rolling back the broken flanks. The charge was urged by Longstreet's men with such fierce energy that the error could not be rectified. The centre and right were broken and dispersed, and driven back in rout towards Chattanooga. A terrible defeat would have supervened but for the gallant behavior of the left wing, under Thomas. Sheridan managed to join him with a portion of his division, and with less than half the original army he held his ground unflinchingly against the whole Confederate force until darkness put a close to the contest,—after which he retired in good order to Rossville. On the 21st he offered battle again, and that night withdrew into the defences of Chattanooga. Bragg had won a victory, but had not recovered the town. His loss was about eighteen thousand men. Rosecrans lost about sixteen thousand three hundred and fifty men, and fifty-one guns. On the 24th, Bragg advanced on Chattanooga, expecting to take it easily. He found it too strongly defended, however, for any hope of success in an assault, and during a considerable period no further hostilities occurred.

The most vigorous preparations were now made for the attack and defence of this important post, which had become the centre of operations for the Western armies. Bragg began a siege of the town that threatened to reduce it by starvation. He seized the passes of Look-out Mountain, destroyed the railroad-bridge at Bridgeport, and thus broke the railroad-communication with Nashville. The supply-trains of Rosecrans's army were obliged to make their way over a difficult ridge by steep and rough roads, since Bragg commanded all the low grounds along the Tennessee. In October heavy rains fell. The roads became almost impassable. The Confederate cavalry attacked the trains. In one day they destroyed three hundred wagons and killed

or captured eighteen hundred mules. As one soldier said, "The mud was so deep that we could not travel by the road, but we got along pretty well by stepping from mule to mule as they lay dead by the way." Starvation threatened the camp. The army must be relieved or must retreat, and a retreat might have ended in a great disaster.

Vigorous measures were now taken. Grant was made commander of the Western armies. He had about eighty thousand men, in addition to Burnside's force; Bragg, about sixty thousand. Sherman was directed to march from Vicksburg to Chattanooga, his troops being first transported by steamboat to Memphis. He left Memphis on October 2, repairing the railroads as he went. It was also determined to reinforce Rosecrans from the Army of the Potomac, and two corps, numbering twenty-three thousand men, under Hooker, were transported, with their artillery, baggage, and animals, from the Rapidan in Virginia to Stevenson in Alabama, a distance of eleven hundred and ninety-two miles, in seven days; an unprecedented performance.

Grant telegraphed to Thomas, then in command at Chattanooga, to hold the place at all hazards. "I will do so till we starve," was the answer. Grant reached the town on October 21, and found that all the heights surrounding it were in the hands of the enemy, who controlled both the river and the railroad. Ten thousand animals had perished by famine. The roads must be opened, or the army must retreat, and that meant destruction, as they would have had to march without supplies. Within a few days, however, the state of affairs remarkably changed. A secret expedition drove the enemy from the range of hills which commanded the river road. Immediately afterwards Hooker reached the same point and strongly guarded it. Good roads for supplies were now secured, and the problem of holding Chattanooga was solved. Bragg had lost his advantage by a surprise. He sought to recover it by a night assault on Geary's command at Wauhatchie, but was repulsed with great loss.

A new Confederate scheme was now devised, which fatally weakened Bragg's army. Longstreet was sent with fifteen thousand men to attack Burnside at Knoxville. Sherman's men arrived late in November, and an assault on Bragg's position was arranged for the 24th. Meanwhile, Bragg was so confident of the strength of his position that he sent a division to reinforce Longstreet. A second division had started, but was recalled when Grant's attack began. From Van Horne's "Army of the Cumberland" we select a description of the remarkable action that succeeded.]

THE Confederate leaders and the army commanders were sanguine of the success of the siege of Chattanooga up to the very moment of its failure. General Bragg had, for a time, just ground for sanguine expectations, as the elements were his allies. At the time of greatest promise, the oracular Confederate President appeared on Lookout Mountain, and from "Pulpit Rock," as he looked down exultingly upon the beleaguered army, predicted its total ruin. But the loss of Lookout Valley, the river, and the direct roads to Bridgeport virtually threw Bragg upon the defensive. It is true that he maintained his lines on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, and through the intervening valley, in semblance of besieging effort, until the army with which he had so often battled leaped from its intrenchments and hurled him and his oft-defeated army from their lofty battlements. But he made no movement of actual offence against Chattanooga during the time the Army of the Cumberland was preparing to assume the boldest aggression. . . .

The town is surrounded with almost all the types of the grand and beautiful in nature. Mountains far and near, rising from water and plain, sharply defined by low valleys and the river curving at their feet; subordinate hills with rounded summits and undulating slopes, and broad plains delicately pencilled here and there by winding creeks and rivulets, are the prominent features of nature's amphitheatre, in the centre of which is Chattanooga.

Looking to the southwest, Lookout Mountain, with bold front and craggy crest, is seen rising abruptly from the river and the valleys on either side; to the west, Raccoon Mountain appears, trending from its river-front far to the southwest, parallel with Lookout; to the north, Waldron's Ridge forms the sky-line far to right and left; to the east, Missionary Ridge, with indented summit, more humbly

takes position, hiding the lofty ranges far beyond; to the south, the east, and to the northeast, stretches the plain where the armies were marshalled for the assault of Bragg's army on Missionary Ridge; and to the southwest, twice across the river, lies the valley from which Hooker crept slyly up the mountain-steeps, covered with trees and shrubs, standing and fallen, and with huge fragments of stone, which during the ages have dropped from the ledges overhanging the crest, to give battle on a field suited to the stealthy belligerence of the Indian, but adverse in every phase to the repetition of all the precedents of modern warfare. But this battle-field defies description, and he who would fully appreciate either battle or field must read the story of the one as he looks down from Lookout Mountain upon the magnificence of the other.

[On November 7, Grant had ordered General Thomas to attack the north end of Missionary Ridge, but this order was recalled, as the army was not ready for battle. Later in the month Sherman reached the town, and on the 23d an assault was made on Orchard Knob, an isolated hill between the town and the ridge. This movement was intended as a reconnoissance, but unexpectedly the hill was carried and a highly-important advantage gained. On the 24th, General Hooker, who was in position for an assault upon Lookout Mountain, moved upon this seemingly impregnable height.]

On the front of Lookout Mountain, intermediate between base and summit, there is a wide open space, cultivated as a farm, in vivid contrast with the natural surroundings of wildest types. The farm-house, known as Craven's or "the white house," was situated upon the upper margin of the farm. From the house to the foundation of the perpendicular cliff or palisade which crops out from the rock-ribbed frame of the mountain, the ascent is exceedingly steep and thickly wooded. Below the farm

the surface is rough and craggy. The base of the mountain, next the river, has a perpendicular front of solid rock, rising grandly from the railroad-track, which, though in part cut through the deep ledges, does not perceptibly mar nature's magnificent architecture. Over the top of this foundation-front the narrow road passes, which in the western valley throws off various branches, leading west and south. East and west from Craven's farm the surface is broken by furrows and covered with shrubs, trees, and fragments of stone. On the open space the enemy had constructed his defences, consisting of intrenchments, pits, and redoubts, which, extending over the front of the mountain, bade defiance to a foe advancing from the river. At the extremities of the main intrenchments there were rifle-pits, epaulements for batteries, barricades of stone and abatis, looking to resistance against aggression from Chattanooga or Lookout Valley. The road from Chattanooga to Summertown, an elegant village for summer resort, winding up the eastern side of the mountain, is the only one practicable for ordinary military movements within a range of many miles. So that, except by this road, there could be no transfer of troops from the summit to the northern slope, or to the valley, east or west, to meet the emergencies of battle, and this road was too long to allow provision from the top for sudden contingencies below.

At 8 A.M. Geary crossed the creek, captured the pickets of the enemy, and then crept up the mountain-side until his right, which was his front in the ascent, touched the base of the palisaded summit. The fog which overhung the mountain-top and upper steeps, and the dense woods, concealed the movement. Then, with his right clinging to the palisades, he swept round toward the mountain's front. Simultaneously with Geary's first movement, Grose

attacked the enemy at the bridge, and, having driven him back, commenced its repair. The noise of this conflict called the enemy's nearest forces from their camps. They formed in front of their intrenchments and rifle-pits; and one detachment advanced to the railroad-embankment, which formed a good parapet and admitted a sweeping fire upon the national troops advancing from the bridge. To avoid the loss of life inevitable in a direct advance, General Hooker directed Osterhaus, now commanding his division, to send a brigade to prepare a crossing a half mile farther up the creek, under cover of the woods. A portion of Grose's brigade having been left at the bridge to attract the attention of the enemy, the remainder followed Woods' brigade to assist in the construction of the bridge. In the mean time, additional artillery had been posted, which, with the batteries first planted on the hills west of the creek, enfiladed all the proximate positions of the enemy. A section of twenty-pounder Parrotts had also the range of the enemy's camp on the mountain-side; and on Moccasin Point, Brannan's guns were in position to open a direct fire upon the front of the mountain.

At 11 A.M. Woods completed the bridge, and soon after Geary's division and Whittaker's brigade, in line, sweeping the mountain from base to palisade, came abreast. The batteries then opened fire, and Woods and Grose crossed the creek and aligned their troops on Geary's left as it swept down the valley. The troops of the enemy, in the first positions, that escaped the artillery fire, ran into the infantry lines, so that quick overthrow occurred to all the troops that had taken position in the valley and near the western base of the mountain. Many were killed, more were wounded, and the remainder were captured, and then the line moved onward toward the mountain's front.

The booming of the heavy guns, with interludes of light

artillery and musketry fire, announced to friend and foe in the distant lines that an action was in progress where battle had not been expected. Quietness reigning throughout the other hills and valleys compassed by the long lines of the contending armies, the contest on the mountain-side, revealed by its noise, but as yet hidden from sight, commanded the profoundest attention and interest of far more than one hundred thousand men. Those not held by duty or the constraint of orders, in crowds sought the elevated lookouts, and, with glasses and strained vision, turned their gaze to the woods, fog, and battle-smoke which concealed the anomalous contest. As the increasing roar of musketry indicated the sweep of the battle to the east, the anxiety for its revelation on the open ground became intense. Soon through the clefts of the fog could be seen the routed enemy in rapid motion, followed by Hooker's line, with its right under the palisade and its continuity lost to view far down the mountain. Whittaker held the right, under the cliffs, and below were the brigades of Cobham, Ireland, and Creighton; and this line hurled the enemy from position after position, climbing over crags and boulders for attack and pursuit, and reached at noon the point where orders required a halt for readjustment of lines and a more cautious approach toward the Summer-town road. But as on the following day, in the assault made by other portions of the Army of the Cumberland, the restraint of orders did not arrest the pursuit of the flying foe, so now these victorious troops swept on. With a plunging fire from above and behind they rolled up the enemy's line, and, lifting it from its intrenchments, made no halt until the middle of the open ground was gained. Here the enemy met reinforcements and made a more determined stand. Soon, however, Grose's brigade of Cruft's division, and Osterhaus' command, having gathered up the

captured on the lower ground, closed on the left, and then the enemy was driven from all his defences on the open ground, and with broken ranks retreated down the eastern descent of the mountain.

The heavy Parrotts and the Tenth and Eighteenth Ohio batteries, under Captain Naylor, on Moccasin Point, rendered important aid to the assaulting forces, by preventing the concentration of the enemy's troops. But the potent cause of the victory was the fact that brave men reached the flank and rear of the enemy's defences.

The heavy fighting ceased at 2 P.M. General Hooker's troops had exhausted their ammunition, and it could not be supplied in the ordinary way, as no trains could reach them. Besides this want of ammunition, as a bar to further fighting, the fog which had overhung the mountain during the day settled down densely over the enemy. But for these obstacles, and the fact that the enemy could now concentrate heavily to prevent the insulation of his troops on the mountain-top, an effort would have been made to seize the Summertown road. Hooker, therefore, waited for ammunition and reinforcements. At 5 P.M. Carlin's brigade of the First Division of the Fourteenth Corps crossed the Chattanooga Creek, near its mouth, and ascended the mountain to Hooker's right. The troops of this brigade carried on their persons ammunition for Hooker's skirmishers, in addition to the ordinary supply for themselves. Severe skirmishing was then maintained until nearly midnight.

[On the 24th, General Sherman occupied the two northernmost summits of Missionary Ridge, which had been abandoned by the enemy. Between this point and Bragg's lines was a deep depression, which must be crossed before the Confederate lines could be reached. The battle of the 25th began early in the day, but, though persistent fighting continued till nearly evening, no important progress was made.

General Hooker had been directed, early in the day, to move against Bragg's left, across the valley between the two ridges. General Thomas, who had been held to move in co-operation with Sherman, was ordered to make an independent attack upon the enemy's centre. Four divisions were in line, in readiness for this assault, but night was near at hand when the order came.]

Between 3 and 4 p.m. six successive cannon-shots from the battery on Orchard Knob gave the signal for the advance. General Grant's order required that the enemy should be dislodged from the rifle-pits and intrenchments at the base of Missionary Ridge. The statement is made in his official report that it was his design that the lines should be readjusted at the base for the assault of the summit; but no such instructions were given to corps or division generals. Neither does it appear from his report whether he meditated an independent assault of the summit from his centre, or one co-operative with Sherman on the left, or Hooker on the right, as the original plan prescribed for the former or as the issues of the day suggested for the latter.

As soon as the magnificent lines moved forward, the batteries of the enemy on the ridge opened upon them with great activity. General Brannan's large guns in Fort Wood, Fort Cheatham, Battery Rousseau, and Fort Sheridan, and four light batteries on the intermediate hills, which had not been silent hitherto, gave emphatic response. Their fire was first directed to the enemy's inferior intrenchments, and when this endangered the advancing lines their missiles were thrown upon the summit. This change of direction was soon necessary, as, leaping forward at the signal, the eager troops in rapid movement first met the enemy's pickets and their reserves, then his troops occupying the intervening woods, and finally his stronger line in his lower intrenchments, and drove all in

confusion to the crest of the ridge. In vain had General Bragg made effort to strengthen his lower line. The advance of the national troops had been so rapid, and their movement had expressed such purpose and power, that the very forces that had so often repeated their furious assaults at Chickamauga lost courage and made no soldierly effort to maintain their position, though supported by at least fifty guns, which, at short range, were fast decimating the assaulting columns.

Having executed their orders to the utmost requirement, holding the enemy's lower defences, the four divisions stood under his batteries, while the troops they had routed threw themselves behind the stronger intrenchments on the summit. General Bragg's right flank had not been turned, as first proposed, and General Hooker's attack on his left, though successful, was too remote to affect immediately the central contest. To stand still was death; to fall back was not compassed by orders, and was forbidden by every impulse of the brave men who, with no stragglers to mar the symmetry of their line or make scarcely a single exception to universal gallantry, had moved so boldly and so successfully upon the foe. There are occasional moments in battle when brave men do not need commanders, and this was one. The enemy held a position of wonderful strength several hundred feet above them. He had two lines in one behind earthworks, where nature had provided a fortress. These men, however, did not stop to consider the enemy's position or strength, but, from a common impulse of patriotism and the inspiration of partial success, leaped forward and dashed up the hill. The color-bearers sprang to the front, and as one fell another bore the flag aloft and onward, followed by their gallant comrades, not in line, but in such masses as enabled them to avail themselves of easier ascent or partial cover.

They advanced without firing, though receiving a most destructive fire of artillery and musketry, from base to summit. The officers of all grades caught the spirit of the men, and so eager were men and officers throughout the line that the crest was reached and carried at six different points almost at the same moment. The enemy was hurled from position with wonderful quickness; his artillery was captured, and in some cases turned against him as he fled. General Hooker soon swept northward from Rossville, and then the Army of the Cumberland held Missionary Ridge the whole length of its front. General Hardee's forces, opposite General Sherman, alone maintained position.

To this general result each of the four central divisions and those with General Hooker contributed, in co-ordination and harmony unprecedented in an improvised attack. Each one was successful, though each was not equally prominent in success. From General Bragg's declaration that his line was first pierced on his right,—that is, to the north of the house which he occupied as his head-quarters,—and from the observation of those occupying elevated positions, there is no room to doubt that General Woods' division first reached the summit. Sheridan's and Baird's, on the right and left, almost simultaneously gained the crest. General Woods' troops enfiladed the enemy's line to the right and left as soon as they broke through it, and the other divisions pressed against other points so quickly that General Bragg's effort to dislodge the troops who first gained his intrenchments, by sending General Bate to the right, miscarried at its very inception. After portions of the several divisions had gained the crest, many isolated contests were conducted with spirit by the enemy, but the fragments of his line were speedily brushed away.

The impulse to carry the summit of the ridge was

seemingly spontaneous, though not entirely simultaneous, throughout the four divisions, and from different points several brigades passed beyond the limit fixed by General Grant's order before there was any concerted action toward a general assault. The division commanders did not arrest their troops, and for a time the corps generals did not give official sanction to their advance. The impression, indeed, so far prevailed that the movement would not be authorized, that Turchin's brigade, on the right of Baird's division, was halted when far up the ascent, and Wagner's brigade, on the left of Sheridan's division, was recalled from an advanced position by a staff-officer who was returning to General Sheridan from General Granger with the information that General Grant's order required only that the enemy's intrenched line at the base of the ridge should be carried. Soon, however, it was apparent to all that the eagerness of the troops had created a necessity superior to the limitations of orders, and this conviction gave unity and energy to an assault whose transcendent issue justified its otherwise unauthorized execution.

To prevent defeat, Generals Bragg, Hardee, Breckinridge, and others of inferior rank exerted themselves to the utmost. General Bragg, in the centre, was nearly surrounded before he entirely despaired and abandoned the field. General Breckinridge resisted General Hooker as he ascended the ridge at Rossville, availing himself of the fortifications which had been constructed by the national army after the battle of Chickamauga. His first resistance was quickly overcome by the Ninth and Thirty-Sixth Regiments of Grose's brigade. General Cruft's division was then formed in four lines on the summit, and, with the lateral divisions abreast, moved rapidly forward, driving the enemy in turn from several positions. Many of his troops, that fled east or west, were captured by

Osterhaus or Geary, and those who tried to escape northward fell into Johnson's hands. As soon as General Hardee heard the noise of battle to his left, he hastened to join his troops under General Anderson, on the right of their central line. But before he could cross the chasm corresponding to the interval between General Sherman's right and General Thomas' left, Anderson's command was thrown into a confused retreat. He then hurried Cheatham's division from the vicinity of the tunnel, and formed it across the summit to resist Baird's division, which had advanced northward, after carrying its entire front, in the assault. In a severe contest, in which Colonel Phelps, a brigade commander, fell, General Baird pressed this fresh division northward from several knolls, but was finally compelled to abandon the conflict by the peculiar strength of a new position and the approach of darkness.

The victory was gained too late in the day for a general pursuit. General Sheridan's division and Willich's brigade of General Woods' division pursued the enemy for a short distance down the eastern slope. Later, General Sheridan advanced and drove the enemy from a strong position, captured two pieces of artillery, numerous small-arms, and several wagons from a supply-train.

During the night General Hardee withdrew his forces from the position which he had persistently held against General Sherman.

[Pursuit was made early the next day, and an engagement took place at Ringgold, with skirmishes at other points. General Sherman was sent on a rapid march to Knoxville, to relieve Burnside, whose army was in great danger. This important duty was successfully performed, and Longstreet, who had been besieging Knoxville, withdrew to Virginia.]

The official reports of the commanders-in-chief of the two armies do not give their strength. It is probable that

General Grant had sixty thousand men in action, and General Bragg forty thousand. The former had thirteen divisions, including two detached brigades, and the latter had eight, with perhaps a corresponding diminution.

General Bragg's loss in killed and wounded is not known. He lost by capture six thousand one hundred and forty-two men, forty-two guns, sixty-nine gun-carriages, and seven thousand stand of small-arms. His loss in material was immense, part of which he destroyed in his flight, but a large fraction, which was uninjured, fell to the national army.

The aggregate losses of the Armies of the Cumberland and Tennessee were seven hundred and fifty-seven killed, four thousand five hundred and twenty-nine wounded, and three hundred and thirty missing. These losses were small compared with those of other battles of similar proportions, and exceedingly small in view of the fact that the enemy generally resisted behind intrenchments.

PICKETT'S CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG.

COMTE DE PARIS.

[The stirring and important events which marked the prosecution of the war in the West during the year 1863 were matched by equally important ones in the East. Three great battles were fought, one in the closing days of 1862, and the others in the following year, of which the last, that of Gettysburg, was in certain respects the greatest battle of the war, and has been generally accepted as the turning-point, from which the fortunes of the Confederacy began to flow rapidly downward. We select, therefore, a detailed description of the closing scene of this great conflict, preceding our selection with a review of the events that succeeded the battle of Antietam.

It was on September 19 that Lee crossed the Potomac and retired into Virginia, after that battle. November arrived ere McClellan was ready to follow him. Meanwhile, the impatience of the authorities at McClellan's lack of activity had grown extreme, and on the 7th of November he was removed, and the command of the army given to General Burnside. The events that succeeded gave no encouraging warrant for this change of commanders. Feeling that he must do something at once to satisfy the government and the country, Burnside moved upon Fredericksburg, with the intention of occupying that town. His pontoon-bridges, however, were not ready, and he delayed crossing the Rappahannock so long while waiting for them that Lee had time to seize and fortify the heights back of the town and move his whole army to that situation. It was the night of December 10 before the crossing was attempted. Two bridges were laid, in front of and below the town. The march over the first proved difficult and sanguinary, on account of sharp-shooters concealed in the houses of the town. But during the day a crossing was effected at both points, and the army massed for an assault on the heights, which were strongly fortified, and guarded by an army of eighty thousand men.

The assault took place on the morning of the 18th, and was repulsed at every point with dreadful slaughter. The principal attack was made from the town, on the difficult position of Marye's Heights. It proved a murderous and futile effort, the assailants being mowed down in myriads and forced to retire in complete discomfiture. Charge after charge was made, but all with the same result. The Union losses during that fatal day are given by Draper at thirteen thousand seven hundred and seventy-one; those of the Confederates at five thousand three hundred and nine. Burnside intended to renew the struggle the next morning, but his leading officers were so strongly opposed to this that he withdrew the order, and on the night of the 15th evacuated the town and recrossed the river. Another movement was essayed by Burnside early in 1863. It was intended to cross the river at a point beyond the range of the Confederate works; but an unlooked-for thaw reduced the roads to quagmires, through which it proved impossible to move the trains and artillery, and the expedition had to be abandoned. Shortly afterwards General Hooker was appointed to replace Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac.

With the opening spring Hooker attempted a flank movement on the Confederates, which resulted as disastrously as had Burnside's direct assault. He divided his army, leaving the left wing, under

Sedgwick, to threaten Fredericksburg, while the main body of the army crossed the river some distance above the city, and marched into a wild district known as Chancellorsville, a country overgrown with a wilderness of thicket. Lee's army was considerably outnumbered, but he managed his forces with such skill as to defeat and almost disorganize his confident opponents. Leaving a small force to guard the heights at Fredericksburg, he marched towards Chancellorsville on the 29th of April. On the 1st of May, Hooker ordered an advance towards Fredericksburg. A flank attack was arranged by Lee, which proved remarkably successful. Jackson led the flanking column through the difficult country known as the Wilderness, and late on May 2 he made so sudden and furious a charge on Hooker's right that it was broken and driven back in confusion. Jackson was mortally wounded in this assault,—a serious loss to the Confederate army.

On the 3d the battle recommenced, and Hooker was severely pressed at all points. Meanwhile, Sedgwick had crossed at Fredericksburg, taken Marye's Heights, and was marching to join Hooker. Lee sent a strong force to meet him, and drove him back to the river, which Sedgwick recrossed on the night of May 4. This repulse ended the conflict. Hooker felt it necessary to retreat, and on the night of May 5, during a severe storm of wind and rain, the pontoons were laid and the whole army marched back to the northern side of the Rappahannock. The losses were heavy on both sides, though the Union forces suffered the most severely. With this battle ended the offensive efforts of the Army of the Potomac for that period. Its skilful antagonist immediately afterwards assumed the offensive, and threw his opponents into an attitude of defence, in which they much better proved their ability to cope with him.

Suddenly breaking camp, Lee began a rapid march northward, handling his troops so skilfully as to leave his antagonist in great doubt as to his intentions. Hooker moved north, disposing his army to cover Washington, and endeavoring to penetrate the designs of the force that was concealed behind the Blue Ridge. Ewell, in the advance, marched hastily up the Valley, and surprised General Milroy at Winchester, defeating him, and capturing the bulk of his army, artillery, and trains. Lee's whole army was across the Potomac before his purpose was divined. He crossed at Shepherdstown on the 24th of June, and advanced with all speed into Pennsylvania, massing his army at Chambersburg on June 27. Ewell had occupied this place several days before. An advance on Harrisburg seemed contemplated, and

✓ part of the army reached and occupied York, but information that the Union army was rapidly approaching necessitated a change of plan, and a movement of concentration upon Gettysburg began. Lee's cavalry, under Stuart, had meanwhile moved so far to the eastward as to be intercepted by the Union advance, and their services were lost during the subsequent events.

✓ Meanwhile, Hooker had discovered the purpose of the enemy, and began a march north which was prosecuted with the utmost speed. A general alarm pervaded the North, and the militia were called out in all directions. Yet the only safe reliance lay in the Army of the Potomac, which was making a strenuous effort to meet and check its opponent. On the 28th of June, Hooker, dissatisfied with the orders from Halleck at Washington, offered his resignation, and was replaced by General Meade, an officer previously known as an able and efficient corps-commander. He continued the rapid march northward, his advance reaching Gettysburg on July 1.

The advance, consisting of Buford's cavalry, numbering about four thousand men, first came into collision with the enemy, about a mile beyond the town. Dismounted, and acting as infantry, these men held their ground with great pertinacity against the steadily-increasing Confederate force. Reynolds, who led the Union advance, pushed forward his division to the support of Buford, and a hot battle ensued. Reynolds was killed, and after several hours of battle the Union line was forced to give way before the superior numbers and the impetuous charges of their foe. The conflict ended in a retreat to Cemetery Ridge, a range of low hills extending westerly and southerly from the town, and ending in a prominent and rugged elevation called Round Top. Meade, whose army was now rapidly coming up, decided to make this ridge his defensive position; while Lee's army, as it arrived, was stationed on the less elevated Seminary Ridge, somewhat over a mile distant from the ground occupied by the Union army. In this struggle for positions Meade had gained the advantage, having much the stronger ground.

Lee's advance was definitely checked. He must either retreat, or brush away the army in front of him and uncover the North by its defeat. He decided on attempting the latter. On the 2d of July an assault in force took place, Ewell moving against Meade's right and Longstreet against his left wing. The first movement proved of secondary interest, the main conflict of the day being that between Longstreet's and Sickles's corps.

Apparently by a misconception of Meade's instructions, Sickles had advanced his corps beyond the line of Cemetery Ridge, which at this point was quite low, and occupied the high ground along which runs the Emmettsburg road, some four or five hundred yards in advance. Though this position was in certain respects advantageous, it had the important defect that the left flank was exposed, and had to be bent back at an angle through low ground towards Round Top. This angle occupied a peach orchard, which became the main point of the Confederate attack.

It was late in the day when the Confederate force under Longstreet advanced to the assault. His right, under Hood, fell upon that portion of Sickles's corps between the peach orchard and Round Top. A gap had been left between the left flank and this elevation, and through this opening the right of Hood's line thrust itself unperceived, and advanced on Little Round Top, a rocky spur of the loftier hill above named. This movement placed Meade's army in great jeopardy. Little Round Top was at that moment quite unoccupied, and if captured by the Confederates the entire Union line would have been taken in reverse. Fortunately, General Warren discovered the critical situation of affairs in time to avert the danger. He hurried a brigade to the summit, brought a battery to the same point, and was just in time to repulse Hood's Texans, who were advancing eagerly to seize the hill. A desperate struggle ensued, the bayonet being used when the ammunition was exhausted. The position was secured, but not without much loss of life.

The heaviest pressure of the Confederate attack fell upon the salient angle in Sickles's line at the peach orchard. This position was stubbornly defended, but was at length carried by the impetuous assaults of Longstreet's men. Its capture quickly exposed the faulty character of the Union line. The enemy had burst through its central key-point, and was at liberty to assail the disrupted forces to right and left. One of the most desperate conflicts of the war ensued. The exposed lines were gradually withdrawn, while other brigades and divisions were hurried to the front, and a confused succession of advances and retreats took place, in which many valuable officers lost their lives, and the ground was strewn with multitudes of the dead and dying. General Sickles himself was severely wounded, losing a leg. Finally the Union line reached the position it had been originally intended to occupy, along the crest of Cemetery Ridge. The efforts of the enemy to break the line continued, but they had lost so heavily during their

advance, and were so exhausted by their efforts, that their final sallies were easily repelled. Though Longstreet's success had been considerable, it was in no sense decisive. No point of Cemetery Ridge had been taken. About dusk Hancock ordered a counter-charge, before which the enemy easily yielded. On the left six regiments of the Pennsylvania Reserves, led by General Crawford, advanced on the enemy in front of Little Round Top, drove them from a stone wall which they had occupied, and to the woods beyond the wheat-field in front. During the night the opposite margins of this field were held by the combatants. .

Ewell's attack on the Union right had been somewhat more successful. Johnson's division had gained a foothold within the Union lines, which it held during the night. It was intended by Lee to make this position, in the next day's battle, the basis of an assault in force on the right wing of the Union army, while the left should be simultaneously assailed. But this project was seriously deranged by Meade's promptness of action. Early on the morning of the 3d a strong attack was made on Johnson before reinforcements could reach him, and he was driven out of the works he had occupied. The Union lines at that point were re-formed

Lee's plan of action was now changed, and an assault ordered against the Union centre. Pickett's division of Virginians was selected to make this desperate charge, one destined to become famous in the annals of war. In preparation for the assault the great bulk of the Confederate artillery was massed in front of the selected point of attack, and the most terrible artillery-fire of the whole war opened upon the Union intrenchments. Meade had massed a smaller number of guns to reply. The story of the grand charge that succeeded, and of its disastrous repulse, we give in the words of the Comte de Paris, from the translated edition of his "*History of the Civil War in America*," published by Messrs. Porter & Coates, of Philadelphia.]

It is now the hottest time of day; a strange silence reigns over the battle-field, causing the Federal soldiers, worn out with fatigue, to look upon the impending general attack, which they have anticipated since early dawn, as extremely long in coming. . . . Longstreet learns at last that everything is ready; his orders are awaited to open the fire which is to precede the assault. . . . Much

time has been lost, for it is already one o'clock in the afternoon. Two cannon-shots fired on the right by the Washington Artillery at intervals of one minute suddenly break the silence which was prevailing over the battle-field. It means, "Be on your guard!" which is well understood by both armies. The solitary smoke of these shots has not yet been dispersed when the whole Confederate line is one blaze. . . . One hundred and thirty-eight pieces of cannon obey Longstreet's signal. The Federals are not at all surprised at this abrupt prelude: they have had time to recover from the shock of the previous day, and have made good use of it. . . . [They] have eighty pieces of artillery to reply to the enemy. In conformity with Hunt's orders, they wait a quarter of an hour before replying, in order to take a survey of the batteries upon which they will have to concentrate their fire. They occupy positions affording better shelter than those of the Confederates, but the formation of their line gives the latter the advantage of a concentric fire.

More than two hundred guns are thus engaged in this artillery combat, the most terrible the New World has ever witnessed. The Confederates fire volleys from all the batteries at once, whose shots, directed toward the same point, produce more effect than successive firing. On the previous day their projectiles passed over the enemy; they have rectified the elevation of their pieces, and readily obtain a precision of aim unusual to them. The plateau occupied by the Federals forms a slight depression of the ground in the centre, which hides their movements, but affords them no protection from the enemy's fire; the shells burst in the midst of the reserve batteries, supply-trains, and ambulances; the houses are tottering and tumbling down; the head-quarters of General Meade are riddled with balls, and Butterfield, his

chief of staff, is slightly wounded. In every direction may be seen men seeking shelter behind the slightest elevations of the ground. Nothing is heard but the roar of cannon and the whistling of projectiles that are piercing the air. A still larger crowd of stragglers, wounded, and non-combatants than that of the day before is again making for the Baltimore turnpike with rapid haste.

[This murderous fire causes considerable loss on both sides. Kemper's (Confederate) brigade in a few minutes loses more than two hundred men. The Confederate ammunition is running short, while the hope to silence the Federal guns has as yet proved unfounded. But at length the Federals cease firing, and Pickett makes ready for the desperate charge to which this hot artillery duel is preliminary.]

He is informed—what he might have found out for himself in spite of the roaring of the Confederate cannon—that the enemy's guns scarcely make any reply. The Federal artillery appears to be silenced from the lack of ammunition. The opportunity so long waited for has therefore at last arrived,—a mistake which the assailants will soon find out to their sorrow. In fact, about a quarter-past two o'clock, Meade, believing that enough ammunition has been expended, and wishing to provoke the attack of the enemy, orders the firing to cease; Hunt, who is watching the battle-field in another direction, issues the same order at the same moment, and causes two fresh batteries, taken from the reserve in the rear of Hancock's line, to advance. For a while the voice of the Confederate cannon is alone heard.

But new actors are preparing to appear on the scene. Pickett has caused the object of the charge they are about to execute to be explained to his soldiers. As the ranks are re-forming, many of them can no longer rise; the ground is strewn with the dead, the wounded, and others that are suffering from the heat, for a burning sun, still

more scorching than that of the day before, lights up this bloody battle-field. But all able-bodied men are at their posts, and an affecting scene soon elicits a cry of admiration from both enemies and friends. Full of ardor, as if it were rushing to the assault of the Washington Capitol itself, and yet marching with measured steps, so as not to break its alignment, Pickett's division moves forward solidly and quietly in magnificent order. Garnett, in the centre, sweeping through the artillery-line, leaves Wilcox behind him, whose men, lying flat upon the ground, are waiting for another order to support the attack. Kemper is on the right; Armistead is moving forward at double-quick to place himself on the left along the line of the other two brigades; a swarm of skirmishers covers the front of the division. The smoke has disappeared, and this small band perceives at last the long line of the Federal positions, which the hollow in the ground where they had sought shelter had, until then, hidden from its view. It moves forward full of confidence, convinced that a single effort will pierce this line, which is already wavering, and feeling certain that this effort will be sustained by the rest of the army. Taking its loss into consideration, it numbers no more than four thousand five hundred men at the utmost, but the auxiliary forces of Pettigrew, Trimble, and Wilcox raise the number of assailants to fourteen thousand. If they are all put in motion in time, and well led against a particular portion of the Federal line, their effort may triumph over every obstacle and decide the fate of the battle. Marching in the direction of the salient position occupied by Hancock, which Lee has given him as the objective point, Pickett, after passing beyond the front of Wilcox, causes each of his brigades to make a half-wheel to the left. This manœuvre, though well executed, is attended with serious difficulties, for the

division, drawn up *en échelon* across the Emmettsburg road, presents its right flank to the Federals to such an extent that the latter mistake the three échelons for three successive lines.

The moment has arrived for the Federal artillery to commence firing. McGilvery concentrates the fire of his forty pieces against the assailants, the Federals even attributing the change in Pickett's direction to this fire,—a wrong conclusion, for it is when he exposes his flanks that the enemy's shots cause the greatest ravages in his ranks. If the thirty-four pieces of Hazard bearing upon the salient position could follow McGilvery's example, this artillery, which Pickett thought to be paralyzed, would suffice to crush him. But, by order of his immediate chief, Hazard has fired oftener and in quicker succession than Hunt had directed, and at the decisive moment he has nothing left in his caissons but grape-shot. He is therefore compelled to wait till the enemy is within short range. Pickett, encouraged by his silence, crosses several fields enclosed by strong fences, which his skirmishers had not been able to reach before the cannonade; then, having reached the base of the elevation he is to attack, he once more changes his direction by a half-wheel to the right, halting to rectify his line.

The Confederate artillery is endeavoring to support him, but is counting its shots, for it is obliged to be sparing of its ammunition: the seven light pieces intended to accompany the infantry, being wanted elsewhere, fail to appear at the very moment when they should push forward, and no other battery with sufficient supplies can be found to take their place.

But, what is still more serious, orders do not seem to have been clearly given to the troops that are to sustain Pickett. On the left Pettigrew has put his men in motion

at the first order, but, being posted in the rear of Pickett, he has a wider space of ground to go over, and naturally finds himself distanced; moreover, his soldiers have not yet recovered from the combat of the previous day: from the start their ranks are seen wavering, and they do not advance with the same ardor as those of Pickett. . . . Presently these troops, through their imposing appearance, attract a portion of the enemy's attention and fire, and at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards they stop to reply with volleys of musketry. On the right Wilcox has remained inactive a considerable time, being probably detained by a diversity of opinion among the chieftains regarding the *rôle* that is assigned respectively to them. . . . Finally, in pursuance of an order from Pickett at the moment when the latter has halted in the vicinity of the Codori house, Wilcox pushes the brigade forward in a column of deployed battalions. In order to get sooner into line, and thus draw a portion of the enemy's fire, he marches directly on. He cannot, however, recover the distance that separates him from the leading assailants, the latter having disappeared in a hollow; then, becoming enveloped in smoke, he loses sight of them, and, following alone his direction to the right, does not succeed in covering their flank.

In the mean while, Pickett, causing his skirmishers to fall back, has again put his troops in motion, without waiting for his *échelons* to get completely into line: the artillery and infantry posted along the ridge he is to capture open a terrific fire of grape and musketry against him at a distance of two hundred yards, while the shot and shell of McGilvery take his line again in flank, causing frightful gaps in its ranks, killing at times as many as ten men by a single shot.

[The Federal position was a very strong one. A portion of the

surface of the ridge, up whose slope the charge had to be made, was bordered by rocks projecting several feet from the ground. This natural wall was continued farther on by an ordinary stone wall, while an intrenchment covered other portions of the ridge.]

Seeing their adversaries advancing against these formidable positions, those amongst the Federals who fought under Burnside have the same opinion: they are at last to be avenged for the Fredericksburg disaster. The assailants also understand the perils that await them. On the left, Pettigrew is yet far off; on the right, Wilcox strays away from them and disappears amid the smoke. Pickett therefore finds himself alone with his three brigades. Far from hesitating, his soldiers rush forward at a double-quick. A fire of musketry breaks out along the entire front of Gibbon's division. The Confederate ranks are thinning as far as the eye can reach. Garnett, whose brigade has kept a little in advance, and who, although sick, has declined to leave the post of honor, falls dead within a hundred yards of the Federal line; for an instant his troops come to a halt. They are immediately joined by Kemper, who at a distance of sixty yards in the rear has allowed their right to cover his left. The two brigades form a somewhat unsteady line, which opens fire upon the enemy. But the Confederate projectiles flatten themselves by thousands upon the strata of rocks, which are soon covered with black spots like a target, and upon the wall behind which the Unionists are seeking shelter. The game is too uneven: they must either fly or charge. These brave soldiers have only halted for a few minutes, allowing Armistead the necessary time to get into line. Encouraged by the example set by their chief, they scale the acclivity which rises before them: their yells mingle with the rattling of musketry; the smoke soon envelops the combatants.

Gibbon, seeing the enemy advancing with such determination, tries to stop his progress by a counter-charge, but his voice is not heard; his soldiers fire in haste, without leaving their ranks; the Confederates rush upon them. Unfortunately for the assailants, their right not being protected by Wilcox, their flank is exposed to the little wood which stretches beyond the Federal line. Stannard's soldiers, concealed by the foliage, have suffered but little from the bombardment; Hancock, always ready to seize a favorable opportunity, causes them to form *en potence* along the edge of the wood in order to take the enemy's line in flank. Two regiments from Armistead's right thus receive a murderous fire which almost decimates and disorganizes them. The remainder of the brigade throws itself in the rear of the centre of Pickett's line, which, following this movement, momentarily inclines towards Hays in order to attack the Federals at close quarters. Armistead, urging his men forward, has reached the front rank between Kemper and Garnett,—if it be yet possible to distinguish the regiments and brigades in this compact mass of human beings, which, all covered with blood, seems to be driven by an irresistible force superior to the individual will of those composing it, and throws itself like a solid body upon the Union line. The shock is terrific: it falls at first upon the brigades of Hall and Harrow, then concentrates itself upon that of Webb, against which the assailants are oscillating right and left. The latter general in the midst of his soldiers encourages them by his example; he is presently wounded. The struggle is waged at close quarters; the Confederates pierce the first line of the Federals, but the latter, dislodged from the wall, fall back upon the second line, formed of small earthworks erected on the ridge in the vicinity of their guns. These pieces fire grape-shot upon the assailants.

Hancock and Gibbon bring forward all their reserves. . . . The regiments become mixed; the commanders do not know where their soldiers are to be found; but they are all pressing each other in a compact mass, forming at random a living and solid bulwark more than four ranks deep.

A clump of trees, in the neighborhood of which Cushing has posted his guns, commanding the whole plateau, is the objective point that the Confederates keep in view. Armistead, on foot, his hat perched on the point of his sword, rushes forward to attack the battery. With one hundred and fifty men determined to follow him unto death, he pierces the mass of combatants, passes beyond the earthworks, and reaches the line of guns, which can no longer fire for fear of killing friends and foes indiscriminately. But at the same moment, by the side of Cushing, his young and gallant adversary, he falls pierced with balls. They both lie at the foot of the clump of trees which marks the extreme point reached by the Confederates in this supreme effort. These few trees, henceforth historical, like a snail on the strand struck by a furious sea, no longer possessing strength enough to draw back into its shell, constitute the limit before which the tide of invasion stops,—a limit traced by the blood of some of the bravest soldiers that America has produced.

In fact, if the Federals have thus seen a large number of their chieftains fall, and their artillery left without ammunition, the effort of the assailants, on the other hand, is exhausted.

[Wilcox, on the right, fails to reach a supporting position. Pettigrew, on the left, followed closely by Trimble, arrives near the point of contest, but fails to maintain his ground.]

After a combat at short range, very brief, but extremely

murderous, in which Trimble is seriously wounded, his troops and those of Pettigrew retire, even before the two brigades under Thomas and Perrin have reached their position, and while Pickett is still fighting on the right. The regular fire of Hays's impregnable line drives the assailants from that point in the greatest disorder as soon as they have taken one step in retreat. The four brigades of the Third Confederate corps that have thus been repulsed leave two thousand prisoners and fifteen stands of colors in the hands of the enemy. A few regiments of Archer's and Scales's brigades, which outflank Hays on the left, throw themselves on the right and unite with Pickett's soldiers, who are still contending with Gibbon. This reinforcement is, however, quite insufficient for the Confederates, who thus find themselves isolated, without support and without reserves, in the midst of the Federal line. Kemper is wounded in his turn. Out of eighteen field-officers and four generals, Pickett and one lieutenant-colonel alone remain unharmed: there is hardly any one left around them, and it is a miracle to see them yet safe and sound in the midst of such carnage.

The division does not fall back; it is annihilated. The flags which a while ago were bravely floating upon the enemy's parapets fall successively to the ground, only to be picked up by the conquerors. A number of soldiers, not daring to pass a second time the ground over which the Federals cross their fire, throw down their arms: among those who are trying to gain the Southern lines many victims are stricken down by cannon-balls. The conflict is at an end. Out of four thousand eight hundred men that have followed Pickett, scarcely twelve to thirteen hundred are to be found in the rear of Alexander's guns; three thousand five hundred have been sacrificed and twelve stands of colors lost in this fatal charge.

[While this retreat was taking place, Wilcox, who believed Pickett to be still fighting, continued his advance. Stannard opened fire upon him from the opposite side of the sheltering wood, and advanced two regiments to a position where their fire took the Confederate line in flank. But Wilcox quickly realized the situation, and hastily retired, leaving two hundred of his men on the field.

Thus disastrously ended the most desperate assault of the whole war. It could scarcely have ended otherwise, considering the broad space of open ground which the assailants had to traverse, and the advantageous position occupied by their foes. With it ended the final effort at invasion on the part of Lee. With this grand charge and its repulse the tide of the war definitely turned, and from the slope of Cemetery Ridge it began to run downward to its final ebb at Appomattox.

Whether an advance in force by the Federals after the repulse of Pickett would have been successful, is a question which has been much debated. At all events, Meade did not risk it, but preferred to hold the advantage he had gained. Nothing was left to the Confederate army but retreat. On the 4th of July this retreat began. It was followed, but with considerable deliberation. Lee reached the Potomac unharmed. This river was swollen, and he was obliged to remain for some days on its banks, waiting for the waters to fall, and threatened by Meade. But the expected attack did not come, and the Confederates crossed the stream on the 12th of July without loss. Soon afterwards Meade followed across the Potomac, and once more Virginia became the battle-ground.]

SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA.

WILLIAM T. SHERMAN.

[As preliminary to Sherman's story of his remarkable expedition we have an important series of military events to pass in review. One of these was the destruction of the public works at Meridian, Mississippi, by an expedition from Vicksburg. This town was a railroad-centre of the greatest importance. It was taken on February 14, and its dépôts, arsenals, storehouses, etc., destroyed. The railroads were ruined for some sixty miles south and west. In April occurred one

of the most terrible events of the war, the capture of Fort Pillow by the Confederate General Forrest, and the ruthless massacre of the negro soldiers of the garrison. The brutality of the slaughter shocked all Christendom.

On May 1, 1864, General Sherman was at Chattanooga with an army of nearly one hundred thousand men. General Johnston, who had succeeded Bragg, opposed him with an army of about seventy-five thousand men. Sherman's advance began on the 6th of May. His army was stationed at some distance in front of Chattanooga, while Johnston's army was massed at Dalton, a strong defensive position. The first collision took place at Resaca, to the south of Dalton, which latter place Johnston had abandoned on finding himself outflanked. Howard occupied Dalton, and pressed him in his retreat. At Resaca a severe battle occurred, in which Sherman lost over four thousand men. He succeeded, however, in turning the Confederate works, and Johnston was again forced to retreat. The pursuit and retreat continued across the Etowah River, which no attempt was made to defend. Johnston made his next stand in the Allatoona Pass, south of that stream. After some further fighting, Sherman succeeded in turning that position also, while Johnston retired to strong positions in the Kenesaw, Pine, and Lost Mountains, near Marietta. In a month's time Sherman had advanced nearly one hundred miles, and forced the enemy to desert four strong positions, with heavy loss.

On the 9th of June, Sherman advanced again. The position held by Johnston was a very strong one, but the line he occupied was too long for the strength of his army. From one extremity to the other it was twelve miles long. Sherman forced him to yield Lost and Pine Mountains, but the powerful post of Kenesaw was so strongly entrenched as to be nearly impregnable. The whole country, Sherman says, had become one vast fort, defended by fifty miles of trenches and batteries. For three weeks, during which operations around Kenesaw continued, the rain fell almost incessantly, yet despite this the army kept in high spirits, and gradually pushed forward, step by step. Sherman, finding that he must either assault the lines or turn the position, determined on the former. Two assaults were made, at different points, on June 27. Both failed, and three thousand men were killed, wounded, and missing. Little damage was done to the enemy.

The second alternative was then adopted. A movement to turn the position was begun on the night of July 2, and instantly Kenesaw was abandoned. Sherman's skirmishers were on the mountain-top by

dawn of the next day. Johnston next formed a defensive line behind the Chattahoochee River, yet by the 9th Sherman had crossed the stream above him, when he at once retreated. Consternation now began to spread through the Confederacy. More than five miles of works of defence, of the most formidable kind, had been constructed, yet they were abandoned without a blow. Only eight miles distant lay the railroad-centre of Atlanta, with its magazines, stores, arsenals, workshops, and foundries, one of the most important posts in the Confederate States.

Sherman now rested until the 17th, to bring up stores and recruit his men. He marched again on that day, and on the same day Johnston, whose cautious policy had given offence to the Richmond authorities, was removed from his command and replaced by Hood. The latter at once began offensive operations, and severe battles were fought on the 20th and the 22d, in both of which the Confederates were repulsed. In the two conflicts the assailants lost about thirteen thousand men. The Union loss was less than half this number. A third battle took place on the 28th, in which Hood was again the assailant, and in which he was repulsed with a loss of five thousand men, Sherman's loss being less than six hundred. This attack had been made to check Sherman's flanking movements, which now continued with less opposition. He eventually raised the siege of Atlanta, and fell on Hood's line of communication, thoroughly destroying the railroad, and interposing his army between Hood and a large detachment which had been sent out under Hardee. This circumstance made necessary the abandonment of the city, which had been rendered untenable. It was deserted during the night of September 1, and fell into Sherman's hands. In this series of operations the Union losses had been about thirty thousand, those of the Confederates about forty-two thousand. Hood destroyed all the valuable railroad and other war material in the city before leaving it. Sherman, finding it inadvisable to hold the city, felt it necessary as a war-measure to render it useless to the Confederates. Accordingly, everything in the place was burned except the churches and dwelling-houses.

Hood now marched against Sherman's line of communication, hoping, by the destruction of the railroad over which the Union supplies were drawn, to force his antagonist to retreat. He was pursued for some distance, but Sherman soon desisted from pursuit, having decided upon another plan of operations. General Thomas had been sent to Nashville, to guard the State of Tennessee against Confederate

aggression. Sherman now sent the Fourth and Twenty-Third Corps, numbering twenty-three thousand men, to reinforce him, retaining about sixty-five thousand men for the bold enterprise which he had projected, that of cutting loose from lines of communication, and marching across Georgia, from Atlanta to the ocean. Before describing this march, the final important event of the war in the Western States may be briefly reviewed.

Instead of following Sherman, Hood continued to march northward, and forced a crossing of the Tennessee River near Florence. He had with him about thirty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. The corps under Schofield and Stanley, which Sherman had sent to reinforce Thomas, faced Hood at Florence, but gradually retired as he advanced, obstructing his march. No important collision took place until the two armies reached Franklin, on the Harpeth River, eighteen miles south of Nashville. Schofield delayed here to pass his wagon-trains over the river, and before he could follow with the troops Hood was upon him. His position was perilous. Of his seventeen thousand men a portion had crossed, and he had but ten thousand available to meet Hood. If defeated, with the river in his rear, destruction was imminent.

Schofield bravely held his ground, however, repulsing four successive attacks with severe loss to the enemy. Hood lost about six thousand men, Schofield but two thousand three hundred. During the night the river was crossed, and a rapid march made to Nashville, in which city the whole army was concentrated on the 1st of December. Thomas had covered the place with a line of strong fortifications, while his army was gradually strengthened till it amounted to more than fifty-six thousand troops. Hood approached Nashville on December 2, and established his line in front of that of Thomas. In this position both armies lay till the 15th of the month, busily preparing for battle. In the mean time great impatience was felt in the North at the seeming procrastination of Thomas. Grant constantly urged him to decisive action, but without effect. Nothing would stir him until he was ready to move. The idea was entertained of replacing him with some more active soldier, and Grant, impatient at the delay, left City Point on a hasty journey to Nashville. He got no further than Washington. On reaching there he received news which satisfied him that Thomas had best be left alone. The cautious soldier had moved, and Hood's army had almost ceased to exist.

On the 15th of December, a morning of fog and gloom, the Union

army marched out of its intrenchments, and fell, with the force of a surprise, on Hood's lines. A severe battle followed, in which Hood's army was driven back at every point, with severe loss, and forced to take up a new line of defence. At dawn of the next day the battle recommenced, the Confederates being assailed with such impetuosity that their line was broken in a dozen places and driven back in utter rout. All their artillery, and thousands of prisoners, were taken, while their losses in killed and wounded were much greater than those of the Union forces. The pursuit of the flying army was pushed with the greatest energy and success, prisoners being captured at every point, and the lately disciplined force reduced to a terror-stricken mob. The rear-guard of cavalry and infantry under Forrest bravely covered the flying army, but the pursuit was pushed day and night until the remaining fugitives had made their way across the Tennessee, when Thomas recalled his troops. There was no longer occasion for pursuit. Hood's army had ceased to exist as an army. Over thirteen thousand prisoners had been taken. Over two thousand deserters were received. Many fled to their homes. The loss in killed and wounded had been enormous. Seventy-two pieces of artillery, and vast quantities of other war-material, were captured. The army was annihilated, with a loss to Thomas in all of about ten thousand killed, wounded, and missing. This terrible stroke ended the war in the Mississippi Valley. No organized army appeared again in the field.

While these movements were taking place, others of equal importance were occurring in Georgia. The story of the adventurous march which followed Sherman's abandonment of Atlanta is one of the most dramatic character, and no incident of the war excited greater interest and enthusiasm. It has been well described by many historians, but we prefer to give it in the words of the hero himself, and therefore make our selection from the "*Memoirs of W. T. Sherman.*"

ABOUT seven A.M. of November 16 we rode out of Atlanta by the Decatur road, filled by the marching troops and wagons of the Fourteenth Corps, and, reaching the hill just outside of the old rebel works, we naturally paused to look back upon the scenes of our past battles. We stood upon the very ground whereon was fought the bloody battle of July 22, and could see the copse of wood where

McPherson fell. Behind us lay Atlanta, smouldering and in ruins, the black smoke rising high in air, and hanging like a pall over the ruined city. Away off in the distance, on the McDonough road, was the rear of Howard's column, the gun-barrels glistening in the sun, the white-topped wagons stretching away to the south; and right before us the Fourteenth Corps, marching steadily and rapidly, with a cheery look and swinging pace, that made light of the thousand miles that lay between us and Richmond. Some band, by accident, struck up the anthem of "John Brown's soul goes marching on;" the men caught up the strain, and never before or since have I heard the chorus of "Glory, glory, hallelujah!" done with more spirit, or in better harmony of time and place.

'Then we turned our horses' heads to the east: Atlanta was soon lost behind the screen of trees, and became a thing of the past. Around it clings many a thought of desperate battle, of hope and fear, that now seem like the memory of a dream; and I have never seen the place since. The day was extremely beautiful, clear sunlight, with bracing air, and an unusual feeling of exhilaration seemed to pervade all minds,—a feeling of something to come, vague and undefined, still full of venture and intense interest. Even the common soldiers caught the inspiration, and many a group called out to me, as I worked my way past them, "Uncle Billy, I guess Grant is waiting for us at Richmond!" Indeed, the general sentiment was that we were marching for Richmond, and that there we should end the war, but how and when they seemed to care not; nor did they measure the distance, or count the cost in life, or bother their brains about the great rivers to be crossed, and the food required for man and beast, that had to be gathered by the way. There was a "devil-may-care" feeling pervading officers and men, that made me

feel the full load of responsibility, for success would be accepted as a matter of course, whereas, should we fail, this "march" would be adjudged the wild adventure of a crazy fool. I had no purpose to march direct for Richmond by way of Augusta and Charlotte, but always designed to reach the sea-coast first at Savannah or Port Royal, South Carolina, and even kept in mind the alternative of Pensacola.

The first night out we camped by the roadside near Lithonia. Stone Mountain, a mass of granite, was in plain view, cut out in clear outline against the blue sky; the whole horizon was lurid with the bonfires of rail-ties, and groups of men all night were carrying the heated rails to the nearest trees and bending them around the trunks. Colonel Poe had provided tools for ripping up the rails and twisting them when hot; but the best and easiest way is the one I have described, of heating the middle of the iron rails on bonfires made of the cross-ties, and then winding them around a telegraph-pole or the trunk of some convenient sapling. I attached much importance to this destruction of the railroad, gave it my own personal attention, and made reiterated orders to others on the subject.

The next day we passed through the handsome town of Covington, the soldiers closing up their ranks, the color-bearers unfurling their flags, and the bands striking up patriotic airs. The white people came out of their houses to behold the sight, spite of their deep hatred of the invaders, and the negroes were simply frantic with joy. Whenever they heard my name, they clustered about my horse, shouted and prayed in their peculiar style, which had a natural eloquence that would have moved a stone. I have witnessed hundreds, if not thousands, of such scenes, and can now see a poor girl, in the very ecstasy of

the Methodist "shout," hugging the banner of one of the regiments, and jumping up to the "feet of Jesus."

I remember, when riding around by a by-street in Covington, to avoid the crowd that followed the marching column, that some one brought me an invitation to dine with a sister of Sam Anderson, who was a cadet at West Point with me; but the messenger reached me after we had passed the main part of the town. I asked to be excused, and rode on to a place designated for camp, at the crossing of the Ulcofauhachee River, about four miles to the east of the town. Here we made our bivouac, and I walked up to a plantation-house close by, where were assembled many negroes, among them an old, gray-haired man, of as fine a head as I ever saw. I asked him if he understood about the war and its progress. He said he did; that he had been looking for the "angel of the Lord" ever since he was knee-high, and, though we professed to be fighting for the Union, he supposed that slavery was the cause, and that our success was to be his freedom. I asked him if all the negro slaves comprehended this fact, and he said they surely did. I then explained to him that we wanted the slaves to remain where they were, and not to load us down with useless mouths, which would eat up the food needed for our fighting-men; that our success was their assured freedom; that we could receive a few of their young, hearty men as pioneers, but that if they followed us in swarms of old and young, feeble and helpless, it would simply load us down and cripple us in our great task. I think Major Henry Hitchcock was with me on that occasion, and made a note of the conversation, and I believe that old man spread this message to the slaves, which was carried from mouth to mouth, to the very end of our journey, and that it in part saved us from the great danger we incurred of swelling our numbers so that famine

would have attended our progress. It was at this very plantation that a soldier passed me with a ham on his musket, a jug of sorghum-molasses under his arm, and a big piece of honey in his hand, from which he was eating, and, catching my eye, he remarked *sotto voce* and carelessly to a comrade, "Forage liberally on the country," quoting from my general orders. On this occasion, as on many others that fell under my personal observation, I reproved the man, explained that foraging must be limited to the regular parties properly detailed, and that all provisions thus obtained must be delivered to the regular commissaries, to be fairly distributed to the men who kept their ranks.

From Covington the Fourteenth Corps (Davis's), with which I was travelling, turned to the right for Milledgeville, *via* Shady Dale. General Slocum was ahead at Madison, with the Twentieth Corps, having torn up the railroad as far as that place, and thence had sent Geary's division on to the Oconee, to burn the bridges across that stream, when this corps turned south by Eatonton, for Milledgeville, the common "objective" for the first stage of the "march." We found abundance of corn, molasses, meal, bacon, and sweet potatoes. We also took a good many cows and oxen, and a large number of mules. In all these the country was quite rich, never before having been visited by a hostile army; the recent crop had been excellent, had been just gathered and laid by for the winter. As a rule, we destroyed none, but kept our wagons full, and fed our teams bountifully.

The skill and success of the men in collecting forage was one of the features of this march. Each brigade commander had authority to detail a company of foragers, usually about fifty men, with one or two commissioned officers selected for their boldness and enterprise. This

party would be despatched before daylight with a knowledge of the intended day's march and camp, would proceed on foot five or six miles from the route travelled by their brigade, and then visit every plantation and farm within range. They would usually procure a wagon or family carriage, load it with bacon, corn-meal, turkeys, chickens, ducks, and everything that could be used as food or forage, and would then regain the main road, usually in advance of the train. When this came up, they would deliver to the brigade commissary the supplies thus gathered by the way. Often would I pass these foraging-parties at the roadside, waiting for their wagons to come up, and was amused at their strange collections,—mules, horses, even cattle, packed with old saddles and loaded with hams, bacon, bags of cornmeal, and poultry of every character and description. Although this foraging was attended with great danger and hard work, there seemed to be a charm about it that attracted the soldiers, and it was a privilege to be detailed on such a party. Daily they returned mounted on all sorts of beasts, which were at once taken from them and appropriated to the general use; but the next day they would start out again on foot, only to repeat the experience of the day before. No doubt many acts of pillage, robbery, and violence were committed by these parties of foragers, usually called "bummers;" for I have since heard of jewelry taken from women, and the plunder of articles that never reached the commissary; but these acts were exceptional and incidental. I never heard of any cases of murder or rape; and no army could have carried along sufficient food and forage for a march of three hundred miles: so that foraging in some shape was necessary. The country was sparsely settled, with no magistrates or civil authorities who could respond to requisitions, as is done in all the wars of Europe: so that

this system of foraging was simply indispensable to our success. By it our men were well supplied with all the essentials of life and health, while the wagons retained enough in case of unexpected delay, and our animals were well fed. Indeed, when we reached Savannah the trains were pronounced by experts to be the finest in flesh and appearance ever seen with any army.

Habitually each corps followed some main road, and the foragers, being kept out on the exposed flank, served all the military uses of flankers. The main columns gathered, by the roads travelled, much forage and food, chiefly meat, corn, and sweet potatoes, and it was the duty of each division and brigade quartermaster to fill his wagons as fast as the contents were issued to the troops. The wagon-trains had the right to the road *always*, but each wagon was required to keep closed up, so as to leave no gaps in the column. If for any purpose any wagon or group of wagons dropped out of place, they had to wait for the rear. And this was always dreaded, for each brigade commander wanted his train up at camp as soon after reaching it with his men as possible.

I have seen much skill and industry displayed by these quartermasters on the march, in trying to load their wagons with corn and fodder by the way without losing their place in column. They would, while marching, shift the loads of wagons, so as to have six or ten of them empty. Then, riding well ahead, they would secure possession of certain stacks of fodder near the road, or cribs of corn, leave some men in charge, then open fences and a road back for a couple of miles, return to their trains, divert the empty wagons out of column, and conduct them rapidly to their forage, load up and regain their place in column without losing distance. On one occasion I remember to have seen ten or a dozen wagons thus loaded with corn from

two or three full cribs, almost without halting. These cribs were built of logs, and roofed. The train-guard, by a lever, had raised the whole side of the crib a foot or two; the wagons drove close alongside, and the men in the cribs, lying on their backs, kicked out a wagon-load of corn in the time I have taken to describe it.

In a well-ordered and well-disciplined army these things might be deemed irregular, but I am convinced that the ingenuity of these younger officers accomplished many things far better than I could have ordered, and the marches were thus made, and the distances were accomplished, in the most admirable way. Habitually we started from camp at the earliest break of dawn, and usually reached camp soon after noon. The marches varied from ten to fifteen miles a day, though sometimes on extreme flanks it was necessary to make as much as twenty; but the rate of travel was regulated by the wagons; and, considering the nature of the roads, fifteen miles per day was deemed the limit.

The pontoon-trains were in like manner distributed in about equal proportions to the four corps, giving each a section of about nine hundred feet. The pontoons were of the skeleton pattern, with cotton-canvas covers, each boat, with its proportion of balks and chesses, constituting a load for one wagon. By uniting two such sections together, we could make a bridge of eighteen hundred feet, enough for any river we had to traverse; but habitually the leading brigade would, out of the abundant timber, improvise a bridge before the pontoon-train could come up, unless in the case of rivers of considerable magnitude, such as the Ocmulgee, Oconee, Ogeechee, Savannah, etc.

[On the 20th of November, Sherman stopped at a plantation mansion which, by chance, he discovered to be that of Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury in Buchanan's Cabinet, and at that time a

general in the Confederate army. Here, contrary to his usual custom, he ordered that nothing should be spared: the fence-rails were destroyed for camp-fires, and an immense quantity of corn and provisions of all sorts was carried off.

While the left wing was marching in this direction, General Howard, with the right wing, was advancing towards Macon, which he reached on the 22d, driving before him the Confederate forces that endeavored to hold the town.]

By the 23d I was in Milledgeville with the left wing, and was in full communication with the right wing at Gordon. The people of Milledgeville remained at home, except the Governor (Brown), the State officers, and Legislature, who had ignominiously fled, in the utmost disorder and confusion; standing not on the order of their going, but going at once,—some by rail, some by carriages, and many on foot. Some of the citizens who remained behind described this flight of the “brave and patriotic” Governor Brown. He had occupied a public building known as the “Governor’s Mansion,” and had hastily stripped it of carpets, curtains, and furniture of all sorts, which were removed to a train of freight-cars, which carried away these things,—even the cabbages and vegetables from his kitchen and cellar,—leaving behind muskets, ammunition, and the public archives. On my arrival at Milledgeville I occupied the same public mansion, and was soon overwhelmed with appeals for protection. General Slocum had previously arrived with the Twentieth Corps, had taken up his quarters at the Milledgeville Hotel, established a good provost-guard, and excellent order was maintained. The most frantic appeals had been made by the Governor and Legislature for help from every quarter, and the people of the State had been called out *en masse* to resist and destroy the invaders of their homes and firesides. Even the prisoners and convicts of the penitentiary were released

on condition of serving as soldiers, and the cadets were taken from their military college for the same purpose. These constituted a small battalion, under General Harry Wayne, a former officer of the United States Army, and son of the then Justice Wayne of the Supreme Court. But these hastily retreated east across the Oconee River, leaving us a good bridge, which we promptly secured.

At Milledgeville we found newspapers from all the South, and learned the consternation which had filled the Southern mind at our temerity; many charging that we were actually fleeing for our lives and seeking safety at the hands of our fleet on the sea-coast. All demanded that we should be assailed, "front, flank, and rear;" that provisions should be destroyed in advance, so that we would starve; that bridges should be burned, roads obstructed, and no mercy shown us. Judging from the tone of the Southern press of that day, the outside world must have supposed us ruined and lost.

[Some of these appeals are curious. We give an example.
"To the People of Georgia:

"Arise for the defence of your native soil! Rally around your patriotic Governor and gallant soldiers! Obstruct and destroy all the roads in Sherman's front, flank, and rear, and his army will soon starve in your midst. Be confident. Be resolute. Trust in an overruling Providence, and success will crown your efforts. I hasten to join you in the defence of your homes and firesides.

"G. T. BEAUREGARD."]

Of course we were rather amused than alarmed at these threats, and made light of the feeble opposition offered to our progress. Some of the officers (in the spirit of mischief) gathered together in the vacant Hall of Representatives, elected a Speaker, and constituted themselves the Legislature of the State of Georgia! A proposition was made to repeal the ordinance of secession, which was well

debated, and resulted in its repeal by a fair vote! I was not present at these frolics, but heard of them at the time, and enjoyed the joke.

[The arsenal at Milledgeville was destroyed, with such other public buildings as could be used for hostile purposes, but all private property was spared. The right wing meanwhile continued its march along the railroad towards Savannah, destroying the ties and rails as it advanced. The cavalry was sent on a circuitous route to Millen, to rescue the prisoners of war confined there.]

On the 24th we renewed the march, and I accompanied the Twentieth Corps, which took the direct road to Sandersville, which we reached simultaneously with the Fourteenth Corps, on the 26th. A brigade of rebel cavalry was deployed before the town, and was driven in and through it by our skirmish-line. I myself saw the rebel cavalry apply fire to stacks of fodder standing in the fields at Sandersville, and gave orders to burn some unoccupied dwellings close by. On entering the town, I told certain citizens (who would be sure to spread the report) that, if the enemy attempted to carry out their threat to burn their food, fodder, and corn in our route, I would most undoubtedly execute to the letter the general orders of devastation made at the outset of the campaign. With this exception, and one or two minor cases near Savannah, the people did not destroy food, for they saw clearly that it would be ruin to themselves.

At Sandersville I halted the left wing until I heard that the right wing was abreast of us on the railroad. During the evening a negro was brought to me who had that day been to the station (Tenille) about six miles south of the town. I inquired of him if there were any Yankees there, and he answered, "Yes." He described in his own way what he had seen. "First, there come along some cavalrymen, and they burned the dépôt; then come along some

infantry-men, and they tore up the track, and burned it;" and just before he left they had "set fire to the well."

The next morning, viz., the 27th, I rode down to the station, and found General Corse's division (of the Fifteenth Corps) engaged in destroying the railroad, and saw the well which my negro informant had seen "burnt." It was a square pit about twenty-five feet deep, boarded up, with wooden steps leading to the bottom, wherein was a fine copper pump, to lift the water to a tank above. The soldiers had broken up the pump, heaved in the steps and lining, and set fire to the mass of lumber in the bottom of the well, which corroborated the negro's description.

[On the 3d of December Millen was reached, the army being yet in excellent condition, its wagons full of forage and provisions. Two-thirds of the distance to Savannah had been traversed. The remainder lay through a more sandy and barren country, where food was scarce, yet Sherman determined to push on for that city.]

General Hardee was ahead, between us and Savannah, with McLaws' division, and other irregular troops, that could not, I felt assured, exceed ten thousand men. I caused the fine dépôt at Millen to be destroyed, and other damage done, and then resumed the march directly on Savannah, by the four main roads. The Seventeenth Corps (General Blair) followed substantially the railroad, and, along with it, on the 5th of December I reached Ogeechee Church, about fifty miles from Savannah, and found there fresh earthworks, which had been thrown up by McLaws' division; but he must have seen that both his flanks were being turned, and prudently retreated to Savannah without fight. All the columns then pursued leisurely their march toward Savannah, corn and forage becoming more and more scarce, but rice-fields beginning to occur along the Savannah and Ogeechee Rivers, which proved a good substitute, both as food and forage. The

weather was fine, the roads good, and everything seemed to favor us. Never do I recall a more agreeable sensation than the sight of our camps by night, lit up by the fires of fragrant pine-knots. The trains were all in good order, and the men seemed to march their fifteen miles a day as though it were nothing. No enemy opposed us, and we could occasionally hear the faint reverberation of a gun to our left rear, where we knew that General Kilpatrick was skirmishing with Wheeler's cavalry, which persistently followed him. But the infantry columns had met with no opposition whatsoever. McLaws' division was falling back before us, and we occasionally picked up a few of his men as prisoners, who insisted that we would meet with strong opposition at Savannah.

On the 8th, as I rode along, I found the column turned out of the main road, marching through the fields. Close by, in the corner of a fence, was a group of men standing around a handsome young officer, whose foot had been blown to pieces by a torpedo planted in the road. He was waiting for a surgeon to amputate his leg, and told me that he was riding along with the rest of his brigade-staff of the Seventeenth Corps, when a torpedo trodden on by his horse had exploded, killing the horse and literally blowing off all the flesh from one of his legs. I saw the terrible wound, and made full inquiry into the facts. There had been no resistance at that point, nothing to give warning of danger, and the rebels had planted eight-inch shells in the road, with friction-matches to explode them by being trodden on. This was not war, but murder, and it made me very angry. I immediately ordered a lot of rebel prisoners to be brought from the provost-guard, armed with picks and spades, and made them march in close order along the road, so as to explode their own torpedoes, or to discover and dig them up. They begged hard, but

I reiterated the order, and could hardly help laughing at their stepping so gingerly along the road, where it was supposed sunken torpedoes might explode at each step; but they found no other torpedoes till near Fort McAllister. That night we reached Pooler's Station, eight miles from Savannah, and during the next two days, December 9 and 10, the several corps reached the defences of Savannah,—the Fourteenth Corps on the left, touching the river, the Twentieth Corps next, then the Seventeenth, and the Fifteenth on the extreme right; thus completely investing the city.

[The conclusion of the story of Sherman's exploits may be given in epitome. After the investment of Savannah, communication was established between the army and the fleet, and preparations were made for an assault upon the city, which Hardee, the Confederate commander, had refused to surrender. This was avoided by an evacuation, and on the 22d of December Savannah was surrendered to the army of invasion, thus completing the remarkable expedition, which had crossed several hundred miles of a hostile country almost without loss or resistance.

By the various operations described the field of the war had been reduced to the Atlantic States, between Savannah on the south and Richmond on the north. Measures were at once taken to combine the armies of Sherman and Grant and crush out the remaining life of the Confederacy between their folds. It was Grant's design to transport Sherman's army by sea, but Sherman proposed the more difficult but more effective measure of a march overland. This was agreed to, and on the 1st of February, 1865, another long march through the heart of a hostile territory began. It was intended, as before, to live on the country, and very little baggage was taken. The army was sixty thousand strong. Beauregard was in command of the opposing forces, but no strong opposition was encountered. On the 17th Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, was reached and occupied. The city was burned. Wade Hampton, in command of the retreating Confederate cavalry, had set fire to a considerable quantity of cotton in the streets, and, in his efforts to destroy this, destroyed the city. Sherman had given orders to burn all public buildings, but the efforts of his

soldiers were vainly directed to check the conflagration started by the enemy.

On the next day Charleston, which had so long and so gallantly defended itself from assault by sea, fell without a blow in its defence, and the birthplace of the rebellion was once more in Union hands. It suffered as severely from its friends as Columbia had done. General Hardee, who commanded in that city, with fourteen thousand men, hastily retreated, lest he should be caught in a trap, as Pemberton had been at Vicksburg. Before doing so he set fire to every building containing cotton. Fire communicated from this to powder scattered in the street, and a train of flame ran to the powder-magazine, which blew up with a fearful explosion. Two hundred people were instantly killed, and a great portion of the city was burned.

On the 8th of March the southern boundary of North Carolina was crossed, and that State entered. On the 11th Fayetteville was taken. Beauregard was now relieved, and Johnston again appointed to the command of the Confederate army. It was necessary to move more cautiously against this experienced commander. Several engagements took place, but the advance continued, and a line of occupation from Bentonville to Goldsborough was established by the 21st. The army had been reinforced by Schofield's corps from the West, with other reinforcements, and was now one hundred thousand strong. Having rested and refitted, Sherman's army marched again on April 10, destroying the railroad as it went. On the 14th the hostile march ended, news being received from the North that put an end to all further hostilities. General Lee had surrendered, and the war was at an end.]

THE LAST MARCH OF LEE'S ARMY.

ARMISTEAD L. LONG.

[We have now a highly important series of events to cover in rapid epitome, comprising the doings of the armies in Virginia from the date of the battle of Gettysburg to the surrender of Lee's army, and embracing in particular the stirring scenes of war which followed Grant's assumption of the command of the Army of the Potomac. Important as many of these events were, no one of them except the

closing event stands out prominently as of decisive value, and lack of space prevents us from giving any of the battle-scenes in detail, obliging us to review briefly that great chapter in the history of the war which reached its culmination in the surrender of Lee's army and the collapse of the Confederacy.

After the battle of Gettysburg the year 1863 passed without an engagement between the two armies in Virginia. Lee, after crossing the Potomac, retired behind the line of the Rapidan. Meade massed his army at Warrenton. In October Lee made a rapid advance to the old battle-ground of Manassas. But if he hoped to take his antagonist by surprise he was mistaken: Meade was too quick for him, and he was forced to retreat hastily. In November Meade retaliated with an equally rapid advance, hoping to surprise Lee in his lines at Mine Run. This effort also ended in failure: Lee concentrated his army, and Meade retired without a battle. Late in the winter a cavalry expedition under Kilpatrick sought to take Richmond by surprise. It failed, and nothing further was done till the spring of 1864.

Grant's victorious career in the West had now made him the most prominent figure in the Union armies, and on March 9, 1864, he was placed in command of all the forces in the field, with the high grade of lieutenant-general, which had been held by no one since Washington, Scott holding this rank only by brevet. He at once appointed Sherman to the command of the Western armies, and took command in person of the Army of the Potomac. It was designed that all the armies should work thenceforward strictly in conjunction. On May 1 Grant opposed Lee with a force estimated at one hundred and forty thousand to his sixty thousand. A simultaneous movement was designed, and on May 4 Grant advanced towards the Rapidan, while Butler, with twenty thousand men, moved from Fortress Monroe up the south side of the James; and on the 6th Sherman advanced from Chattanooga.

Lee was found in line of battle in the difficult region of the Wilderness, the scene of the previous desperate battle of Chancellorsville. A terrible engagement ensued, which continued throughout the 5th and 6th of May. It was a confused and sanguinary struggle, in the depths of a tangled thicket, in which Grant lost more than twenty thousand men, five thousand of whom were taken prisoners. The Confederates lost ten thousand. Neither side could claim a victory.

Reconnoissances now showed that Lee had intrenched his army, and that a renewed attack must result in very serious losses. On the night

of the 7th, therefore, Grant began a secret flanking march upon Spottsylvania Court-House. Lee discovered the movement, and, having the shortest line, reached Spottsylvania first. Warren, in the advance, had a severe fight in gaining his designated point. For several days the armies faced each other, in busy preparation. On the 10th Grant assailed the Confederate lines. A severe battle took place, resulting in no substantial advantage, while the losses on both sides were very heavy. Early on the morning of the 12th the conflict was renewed. Hancock made a sudden charge on Lee's right, captured the intrenchments, and took three thousand prisoners. A desperate battle followed, the Confederates retiring to an interior line of breastworks, which were vigorously defended, and held to the end of the day. So far neither army could claim a victory, while the losses on both sides had been enormous,—the Union loss being the greatest, from the fact that the Confederates were fighting on the defensive, and most of the time behind strong works.

Heavy rains prevented operations during the few succeeding days. On the 19th Grant received reinforcements from Washington, and, deeming the lines at Spottsylvania too strong to be taken, he prepared for a night march to the North Anna River. This began on the night of the 21st. Lee penetrated the design, and, having the shorter line, succeeded in again outmarching his opponent. A battle took place here on the 23d, Grant having to force the passage of the river in the face of the enemy. The conflict was much less sanguinary than those preceding it, but, as Lee's position proved impregnable, Grant gave orders for another flanking march. Sheridan, who had been sent on a cavalry raid to cut Lee's lines of communication, rejoined the army on the 25th, having inflicted much damage, threatened Richmond, and killed the ablest Confederate cavalry leader, General J. E. B. Stuart.

On the night of May 26 another effort to turn Lee's right was made by a rapid march towards Richmond. Some fighting took place on the 30th, and on the 31st Cold Harbor, in the vicinity of the previous battle of Gaines's Mill, was reached. Here Grant made a fourth vigorous effort to overthrow Lee, who, as before, faced him with intrenched lines. An assault was made at five P.M. on the 1st of June, with some success, yet without breaking Lee's second line. On the morning of the 3d an advance of the whole army was ordered, and a desperate and sanguinary struggle took place. Despite every effort, Lee's lines remained unbroken,—Grant losing seven thousand men to Lee's three thousand.

This ended the engagements in the field. The task of beating Lee by open fighting had proved too murderous, the Union loss being very considerably greater than that of the Confederates. Grant now determined on siege-operations, and decided to move his army south of the James, at Bermuda Hundred, then held by Butler. This gave him a water basis of supplies, and he was not troubled by that nightmare of covering Washington which had weakened the efforts of all previous commanders. In the campaign up to this time he had lost over fifty-four thousand men, Lee about thirty-two thousand. Grant's army, including Butler's, was now about one hundred and fifty thousand men, Lee's about seventy thousand. These numbers are taken from Draper's "Civil War."

Immediately after crossing, a dash was made on Petersburg, in the hope of taking it before Lee could strengthen its garrison. The effort ended in failure, through lack of sufficient celerity of movement. Grant lost about nine thousand men in this unlucky enterprise. Both sides now began to intrench, and there gradually arose that wonderful series of earthworks which eventually stretched for many miles both north and south of the James, from the vicinity of Richmond to and beyond Petersburg, and behind which the opposing armies lay facing each other for nearly a year.

During the period of these operations important events had taken place in the Shenandoah Valley. Sigel had entered the Valley on May 1, but was defeated by Breckinridge on the 15th. Hunter succeeded Sigel, and completely routed Breckinridge at Piedmont. He now advanced upon Lynchburg, devastating the country as he went, but was compelled to retreat before a strong force which Lee had sent to oppose him. This Confederate success was followed by movements of great importance. General Early, with twenty thousand men, made a rapid march northward through the Valley, reaching Winchester on the 3d of July, and Hagerstown, Maryland, on the 6th. He then moved boldly upon Washington, defeating General Wallace on the Monocacy, and reaching a point within six miles of the Capital on the evening of the 10th. An immediate assault might have given him possession of the city, which was weakly defended. But he delayed for a day, and the arrival of two corps secured the city and forced Early to retreat hastily. He regained the Valley with his spoils, defeated General Crook at Kernstown, and sent a cavalry party into Pennsylvania, which burned the town of Chambersburg in reprisal for Hunter's depredations in the Valley.

On August 7 General Sheridan was assigned to the command of the forces opposing Early. No event of importance took place until September 19, on which day Early was severely defeated on the Opequan, losing six thousand men, the Federal loss being about five thousand. Two days afterwards Early was again defeated at Fisher's Hill. Sheridan now marched up the Valley, destroying everything that could serve for army supplies. Supposing his foe to be helpless, Sheridan repaired to Washington in October, to confer with the Secretary of War about sending part of his army back to Grant. During his absence Early made a night attack on his army, which was then posted on the north side of Cedar Creek. The surprise was complete, the troops being routed at all points, and driven back in a confusion little short of a panic. The severity of the pursuit was somewhat reduced by the Confederates stopping to plunder the Union camp, and the broken brigades regained some degree of order.

Then occurred that striking incident which has been so worthily celebrated in art and poetry,—Sheridan's ride from Winchester. The commander had got to that point on his return to the army, and first learned of the rout of his troops by the appearance at the town of the most rapid of the fugitives. Instantly mounting his mettled war-horse, he rode with headlong speed to the field of battle, twenty miles away. His appearance on the field inspirited the depressed soldiers, while his cheering words put new life into their ranks. The lines were quickly re-formed, an advance was ordered, and to Early's surprise he found his victorious troops impetuously assailed by the recently broken host. His defeat was complete, his loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners enormous, and his army was so shattered that it was never able to take the field again. This definitely ended the war in the Valley.

Before returning to the story of the siege of Petersburg some account of the operations of the navy is desirable. Among the most important of these was the attack of the iron-clad fleet on the harbor defences of Charleston. The powerful defensive batteries drove off the iron-clads with the greatest ease, forcing them to retire to escape destruction. Approaches were now made by land batteries on Morris Island, but beyond the destruction of Fort Sumter no result of special value was attained. In April, 1864, the Confederate ram Albemarle came down the Roanoke River, disabled several gunboats, and forced Fort Wessels to surrender. She was soon afterwards destroyed by a torpedo, exploded under her by Lieutenant Cushing. Of the nine powerful iron-clads constructed by the Confederate government during the war every one

was destroyed or captured. The Atlanta was captured by the monitor Weehawken, at Savannah, after a fifteen-minutes' engagement. The Tennessee, built on the plan of the Merrimack, was captured in Mobile harbor, after being seriously injured by ramming with wooden vessels. At this place the brave Farragut again ran a series of strong forts with his fleet, himself standing exposed in the rigging as he received their fire.

The final important naval event was the capture of Fort Fisher, which covered the channel leading to Wilmington, North Carolina, the only port now attainable by blockade-runners. In December, 1864, a combined land and water expedition was sent against the fort, accompanied by a boat stored with two hundred and fifteen tons of gunpowder, by the explosion of which near the fort it was hoped that its walls might be shattered. This proved a failure. The powder-boat was exploded without doing the slightest damage. The fleet then attacked the fort, whose guns were silenced. But General Butler, who commanded the land force, would not make an assault, and the expedition returned unsuccessful. Another expedition, under General Terry, was sent in January. The bombardment by the fleet continued for several days, after which, on the 15th, a land assault was made, and the fort taken, after a severe struggle. This event completely closed the Confederacy from the outside world. The blockade was finally made fully effective.

Yet there was a Confederate navy, whose ships had never entered a Southern port, but which managed to commit great depredations upon American shipping. It was composed of vessels built abroad and sold to the Confederates, one of them in France, the remainder in England. Two powerful rams were built for this purpose in England, but were detained when Minister Adams plainly hinted at war if they were suffered to escape. Of the Confederate vessels which were permitted to sail from British harbors, much the most important was the Alabama. This vessel was a virtual pirate, which lured its victims by flying the British flag until they were within its power. It did great damage to American shipping. Finally the Alabama was encountered by the sloop-of-war Kearsarge, off the harbor of Cherbourg, France. A severe battle ensued, in which the Alabama was dreadfully shattered and finally sunk. During her career she had captured sixty-five vessels, most of which she burned. The loss occasioned was afterwards charged upon England, by the decision of an International Commission, and paid in accordance with the verdict.

We have one further series of events to review,—those attending the siege of Petersburg by Grant, and its defence by Lee. The first important event of that siege was Grant's attempt to seize the Weldon Railroad, on June 21, 1864. This was repulsed, with a loss of four thousand men. Immediately afterwards a cavalry expedition was sent to cut the railroads south of Richmond. It was driven back with loss, after doing some damage, which was quickly repaired. The next important event was the attempt to destroy the Confederate works by a mine. This was excavated with great labor, and exploded on the morning of July 30. A deep gap was blown through the works, but the subsequent assault was so completely mismanaged that the Confederates had hours in which to bring up troops and batteries. As a result the charging column was repulsed, with heavy loss, and Petersburg saved. On August 12 a demonstration in force was made against Richmond, north of the James, and advantage taken of the concentration of Confederate troops in that direction, to assail the defenders of the Weldon Railroad. This road was taken, and effectually ruined. On the 29th another assault was made north of the James, and Fort Harrison, one of the Confederate earthworks, taken. These operations had been attended with serious losses, with but little compensating advantage.

The next purpose in Grant's operations was the destruction of the Southside Railroad, with the eventual intention to assail the Danville Road, the main line of communication between Richmond and the South. During the remainder of the season, however, very little was done. A severe engagement took place at Hatcher's Run, in a movement towards the Southside Railroad. The affair ended in a Union withdrawal. Butler's effort to dig a canal across Dutch Gap, a point where the James makes a wide bend, proved useless, and the armies settled down to an autumn and winter rest.

Active operations began again in March, Grant having then about one hundred and twenty thousand men. Lee's actual number is not well known. On February 5, 1865, an attempt had been made to turn Lee's lines at Hatcher's Run, which was repulsed, with loss. The only offensive movement of Lee during this long siege was made on March 25, an early morning attack being directed against Fort Steadman, near the site of the mine. The surprise was complete, and the fort taken. But its holders were at once assailed from all sides, and driven out, with a loss of three thousand out of the five thousand engaged.

The final movement of the Union army began on March 29. On

the 30th Sheridan advanced on Five Forks, a point below Lee's line of intrenchments, and three miles from the Southside Railroad. Lee concentrated a strong force against him, weakening his lines in doing so. Sheridan had taken possession of Five Forks, but was driven back. He advanced again on April 1. Grant, finding that Lee had weakened his line of defence, directed a charge in force to be made by the Fifth Corps upon the Confederate works. It proved successful: the defensive line was broken, two thousand five hundred prisoners were captured, and the fugitives pushed with remorseless energy. On April 2 the final assault was made, and Petersburg captured. Nothing was left for Lee but flight or surrender. He chose the former, and on the night of April 2 began a rapid retreat from the lines he had so long and so gallantly held. The story of that retreat we extract from "The Memoirs of Robert E. Lee," by General A. L. Long.]

ALONG the north bank of the Appomattox moved the long lines of artillery and dark columns of infantry through the gloom of the night, over the roads leading to Amelia Court-House. By midnight the evacuation was completed, and a death-like silence reigned in the breast-works which for nine months had been "clothed in thunder," and whose deadly blows had kept at bay a foe of threefold strength.

As the troops moved noiselessly onward in the darkness that just precedes the dawn, a bright light like a broad flash of lightning illumined the heavens for an instant; then followed a tremendous explosion. "The magazine at Fort Drewry is blown up," ran in whispers through the ranks, and again silence reigned. Once more the sky was overspread by a lurid light, but not so fleeting as before. It was now the conflagration of Richmond that lighted the night-march of the soldiers, and many a stout heart was wrung with anguish at the fate of the city and its defenceless inhabitants. The burning of public property of little value had given rise to a destructive fire that laid in ashes nearly one-third of the devoted city.

The columns from Petersburg and its vicinity reached Chesterfield Court-House soon after daylight. Here a brief halt was ordered for the rest and refreshment of the troops, after which the retreat was resumed with renewed strength. A sense of relief seemed to pervade the ranks at their release from the lines where they had watched and worked for more than nine weary months. Once more in the open field, they were invigorated with hope, and felt better able to cope with their powerful adversary.

The April woods were budding round them, the odors of spring were in the air, the green fields and the broad prospect of woods and hills formed an inspiring contrast to the close earthworks behind which they had so long lain, and as they marched along the unobstructed roads memories of the many victories to which they had formerly been led arose to nerve their arms and make them feel that while they had the same noble chieftain at their head they were still the equal of the foe. Thoughts like these lightened the weary march and gave new spirit to the ragged and hungry but undaunted men.

The retreat of Lee's army did not long remain unknown to the Federals. The explosion of the magazine at Fort Drewry and the conflagration of Richmond apprised them of the fact, and they lost no time in taking possession of the abandoned works and entering the defenceless cities.

On the morning of the 3d of April the mayor of Richmond surrendered the city to the Federal commander in its vicinity, and General Weitzel took immediate possession. He at once proceeded to enforce order and took measures to arrest the conflagration, while with great humanity he endeavored to relieve the distressed citizens. After four years of courageous sacrifice and patriotic devotion, the city of Richmond was compelled to yield to

the decree of fate and bow her proud crest to the victor. But she felt no shame or disgrace, for her defence had been bold and chivalrous, and in the hour of her adversity her majestic fortitude drew from her conquerors respect and admiration.

As soon as Grant became aware of Lee's line of retreat, he pushed forward his whole available force, numbering seventy thousand or eighty thousand men, in order to intercept him on the line of the Richmond and Danville Railroad. Sheridan's cavalry formed the van of the pursuing army, and was closely followed by the artillery and infantry. Lee pressed on as rapidly as possible to Amelia Court-House, where he had ordered supplies to be deposited for the use of his troops on their arrival. This forethought was highly necessary in consequence of the scanty supply of rations provided at the commencement of the retreat.

The hope of finding a supply of food at this point, which had done much to buoy up the spirits of the men, was destined to be cruelly dispelled. Through an unfortunate error or misapprehension of orders, the provision-train had been taken on to Richmond without unloading its stores at Amelia Court-House, and its much-needed food disappeared during the excitement and confusion of the capital city. As a result, on reaching that point not a single ration was found to be provided for the hungry troops.

It was a terrible blow alike to the men and to their general. A reaction from hope to despair came upon the brave soldiers who had so far borne up under the most depressing difficulties, while on General Lee's face came a deeper shadow than it had yet worn. He saw his well-devised plan imperilled by a circumstance beyond his control. The necessity of speed if he would achieve the aim which

he had in his mind was opposed by the absolute need of halting and collecting food for his impoverished troops. Grant was pursuing him with all haste. The only chance remaining to the Army of Northern Virginia was to reach the hill-country without delay. Yet here it was detained by the error of a railroad official, while the precious minutes and hours moved remorselessly by.

By the morning of the 5th the whole army had reached the place of general rendezvous. Bitter was its disappointment to learn that no food was to be had save such scanty quantities as might be collected by the foraging-parties that had immediately been sent out, and that a distance of fifty miles lay between it and adequate supplies. Yet no murmur came from the lips of the men to the ear of their commander, and on the evening of that unfortunate day they resumed their weary march in silence and composure. Some small amount of food had been brought in by the foragers, greatly inadequate for the wants of the soldiers, yet aiding them somewhat to alleviate the pangs of hunger. A handful of corn was now a feast to the weary veterans as they trudged onward through the April night. . . .

The progress of the retreat during the night was slow and tedious, the route for the most part lying through farms and over farm-lands, whose condition frequently demanded the aid of pioneers to construct and repair bridges and causeways for the artillery and wagons, the teams of which by this time had become weak and jaded. The country roads were miry from the spring rains, the streams were swollen, and the numerous wagons which were necessary to transport the munitions of war from Richmond to a new line of defence served to retard the retreat and permit the Federals to rapidly gain upon the slow-marching columns.

Sheridan's cavalry was already upon the flank of the Confederate army, and the infantry was following with all speed. On the morning of the 6th a wagon-train fell into the hands of Sheridan's troopers, but this was recaptured by the Confederates. During the forenoon of that day the pursuing columns thickened, and frequent skirmishes delayed the march. These delays enabled the Federals to accumulate in such force that it became necessary for Lee to halt his advance in order to arrest their attack till his column could close up and the trains and such artillery as was not needed for action could reach a point of safety.

This object was accomplished early in the afternoon. Ewell's, the rearmost corps of the army, closed upon those in front at a position on Sailor's Creek, a small tributary of the Appomattox River. While the troops were moving to their destination, and the trains had passed, General Gordon, who commanded the rear-guard, observing a considerable Federal force moving around the Confederate rear, apparently with the intention of turning it, sent notice of this movement to the troops in front, and then proceeded by a near route to a suitable position on the line of retreat.

Ewell, unfortunately, either failed to receive Gordon's message or his troops were so worn out with hunger and fatigue as to be dilatory in complying with orders. As a consequence, his corps was surrounded by the pursuing columns and captured with but little opposition. About the same time the divisions of Anderson, Pickett, and Bushrod Johnson were almost broken up, about ten thousand men in all being captured. The remainder of the army continued its retreat during the night of the 6th, and reached Farmville early on the morning of the 7th, where the troops obtained two days' rations, the first

regular supplies they had received during the retreat. At Farmville a short halt was made to allow the men to rest and cook their provisions. . . .

The heads of the Federal columns beginning to appear about eleven o'clock, the Confederates resumed their retreat. The teams of the wagons and artillery were weak, being travel-worn and suffering from lack of forage. Their progress, therefore, was necessarily slow, and, as the troops were obliged to move in conformity with the artillery and trains, the Federal cavalry closed upon the retreating army. In the afternoon it became necessary to make dispositions to retard the rapid advance of the enemy. Mahone's division, with a few batteries, was thrown out for that purpose, and a spirited conflict ensued, in which the Federals were checked. Other attempts were made during the afternoon to retard or arrest the Confederate columns, which in every instance were repulsed. . . .

Desperate as the situation had become, and irretrievable as it seemed hourly growing, General Lee could not forego the hope of breaking through the net that was rapidly enclosing him and of forming a junction with Johnston. In the event of success in this he felt confident of being able to manœuvre with Grant at least until favorable terms of peace could be obtained.

A crisis was now at hand. Should Lee obtain the necessary supplies at Appomattox Court-House, he would push on to the Staunton River and maintain himself behind that stream until a junction could be made with Johnston. If, however, supplies should fail him, the surrender and dissolution of the army were inevitable. On the 8th the retreat, being uninterrupted, progressed more expeditiously than on the previous day. Yet, though the Federals did not press the Confederate flank and rear as on the day before, a heavy column of cavalry advanced upon Appo-

mattox Station, where the supplies for the Confederate army had been deposited.

On the preceding day a correspondence had begun between the two commanding generals, opening in the following note sent by General Grant to General Lee:

“HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U.S.,
“5 P.M., April 7, 1865.

“GENERAL R. E. LEE, COMMANDING C.S.A.

“GENERAL,—The results of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate Southern army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

“Very respectfully,

“Your obedient servant,

“U. S. GRANT,

“*Lieutenant-General commanding Armies of the U.S.*”

To which General Lee replied,—

“April 7, 1865.

“GENERAL,—I have received your note of this day. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

“R. E. LEE,

“*General.*

“LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT, *commanding the Armies of the United States.*”

On the succeeding day General Grant returned the following reply :

“ April 8, 1865.

“ TO GENERAL R. E. LEE, COMMANDING C.S.A.

“ GENERAL,—Your note of the last evening, in reply to mine of the same date, asking the condition on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply I would say that, peace being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon,—namely, that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you might name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

“ U. S. GRANT,

“ *Lieutenant-General.*”

General Lee immediately responded :

“ April 8, 1865.

“ GENERAL,—I received at a late hour your note of today. In mine of yesterday I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army, but, as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desired to know whether your proposals would lead to that end. I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but as far as your proposal may affect the Confederate States forces under my command and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at

ten A.M. to-morrow on the old stage-road to Richmond, between the picket-lines of the two armies.

“R. E. LEE,

“*General.*

“LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT.”

When Lee in the afternoon reached the neighborhood of Appomattox Court-House, he was met by the intelligence of the capture of the stores placed for his army at the station two miles beyond. Notwithstanding this overwhelming news, he determined to make one more effort to force himself through the Federal toils that encompassed him. Therefore he made preparations for battle, but under circumstances more desperate than had hitherto befallen the Army of Northern Virginia. The remnant of that noble army, now reduced to ten thousand effective men, was marshalled to cut its way through a host seventy-five thousand strong; but, notwithstanding the stupendous odds, there was not in that little band a heart that quailed or a hand that trembled; there was not one of them who would not willingly have laid down his life in the cause they had so long maintained, and for the noble chief who had so often led them to victory.

On the evening of that day the last council of the leaders of the Army of Northern Virginia was held around a bivouac-fire in the woods, there being present Generals Lee, Longstreet, Gordon, and Fitz Lee. This conference ended in a determination to make a renewed effort on the following morning to break through the impediments in front, of which there was still a possibility if only cavalry should be found and no heavy force of infantry had reached that point.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 9th of April the Confederates moved silently forward. The advance under Gordon, reaching the heights a little beyond the court-

house at dawn, found that the route was obstructed by a large force of Federal cavalry. Gordon then deployed the Second Corps, now less than two thousand strong and supported by thirty pieces of artillery under General Long, with Fitz Lee's cavalry on the flank.

This artillery consisted of parts of the commands of Colonel Carter, Lieutenant-Colonels Poague and Duke Johnston, and Major Stark, and the guns were served with the usual skill and gallantry. A well-directed fire from the artillery and an attack from the cavalry quickly dislodged the force in front. Gordon then advanced, but was arrested by a greatly superior force of the enemy's infantry, whereupon he informed General Lee that a powerful reinforcement was necessary to enable him to continue his advance.

Lee being unable to grant that request, but one course remained. A flag of truce was sent to General Grant requesting a suspension of hostilities for the arrangement of preliminaries of surrender. Then an order to cease firing passed along the lines. This order, on being received by General Long, was sent by him, through Major Southall and other members of his staff, to the different batteries to direct them to discontinue firing. General Long then proceeded to the court-house.

On reaching that point he discovered that the order had not been carried to a battery that occupied the hill immediately above the village, which continued to fire rapidly at an advancing line of Federal infantry. He at once rode in person to the battery and gave the order to the captain to cease firing and to withdraw his battery to a point east of the town, where the artillery was ordered to be parked. These were the last shots fired by the Army of Northern Virginia. . . .

The artillery had been withdrawn from the heights, as

above stated, and parked in the small valley east of the village, while the infantry, who were formed on the left, stacked arms and silently waited the result of the interview between the opposing commanders.

The flag of truce was sent out from General Gordon's lines. Grant had not yet come up, and while waiting for his arrival General Lee seated himself upon some rails which Colonel Talcott of the Engineers had fixed at the foot of an apple-tree for his convenience. This tree was half a mile distant from the point where the meeting of Lee and Grant took place, yet wide-spread currency has been given to the story that the surrender took place under its shade, and "apple-tree" jewelry has been profusely distributed from the orchard in which it grew.

About eleven o'clock General Lee, accompanied only by Colonel Marshall of his staff, proceeded to the village to meet General Grant, who had now arrived. The meeting between the two renowned generals took place at the house of a Mr. McLean at Appomattox Court-House, to which mansion, after exchanging courteous salutations, they repaired to settle the terms on which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia should be concluded.

A conversation here took place which General Grant, as he himself tells us, led to various subjects divergent from the immediate purpose of the meeting, talking of old army matters and comparing recollections with General Lee. As he says, the conversation grew so pleasant that he almost forgot the object of the meeting.

General Lee was obliged more than once to remind him of this object, and it was some time before the terms of the surrender were written out. The written instrument of surrender covered the following points. Duplicate rolls of all the officers and men were to be made, and the officers to sign paroles for themselves and their men, all agree-

ing not to bear arms against the United States unless regularly exchanged. The arms, artillery, and public property were to be turned over to an officer appointed to receive them, the officers retaining their side-arms and private horses and baggage. In addition to this, General Grant permitted every man of the Confederate army who claimed to own a horse or mule to retain it for farming purposes, General Lee remarking that this would have a happy effect. As for the surrender by General Lee of his sword, a report of which has been widely circulated, General Grant disposes of it in the following words: "The much-talked-of surrendering of Lee's sword and my handing it back, this and much more that has been said about it is the purest romance."

After completion of these measures General Lee remarked that his men were badly in need of food, that they had been living for several days on parched corn exclusively, and requested rations and forage for twenty-five thousand men. These rations were granted out of the car-loads of Confederate provisions which had been stopped by the Federal cavalry. As for forage, Grant remarked that he was himself depending upon the country for that. The negotiations completed, General Lee left the house, mounted his horse, and rode back to head-quarters.

It is impossible to describe the anguish of the troops when it was known that the surrender of the army was inevitable. Of all their trials, this was the greatest and hardest to endure. There was no consciousness of shame; each heart could boast with honest pride that its duty had been done to the end, and that still unsullied remained its honor. When, after his interview with Grant, General Lee again appeared, a shout of welcome instinctively ran through the army. But, instantly recollecting the sad occasion that brought him before them, their shouts sank

into silence, every hat was raised, and the bronzed faces of the thousands of grim warriors were bathed with tears.

As he rode slowly along the lines, hundreds of his devoted veterans pressed around the noble chief, trying to take his hand, touch his person, or even lay a hand upon his horse, thus exhibiting for him their great affection. The general then, with head bare and tears flowing freely down his manly cheeks, bade adieu to the army. In a few words he told the brave men who had been so true in arms to return to their homes and become worthy citizens.

Thus closed the career of the noble Army of Northern Virginia.

[The surrender of Lee's army was followed, a few days afterwards, by that of General Johnston, and within a month all the armies of the Confederacy had laid down their arms and accepted the lenient terms proposed to General Lee. This leniency was soon in danger of being replaced by harsher measures. Two days after Lee's surrender an event occurred which stirred the North as no event of the war had done, an act of brutal violence, which, with a different people, might have led to deeds of bloody and terrible reprisal. This was the murder of President Lincoln, who was shot in a Washington theatre by a frantic partisan of the South, eager for that infamous glory which has led in all ages to acts of destructive violence. Thus, by the pistol of an assassin, fell the man whose hand had guided the ship of state through all the perils of its dangerous way, and whose wise and judicious counsel and unbounded influence would have been of incalculable value in healing the wounds of the war. In the act of its pretended avenger the South lost its best friend, and a long period of divided counsels and bitter feeling was the direct consequence of this fatal blow.]

REVIEW OF RECENT HISTORY.

CHARLES MORRIS.

WITH the close of the Civil War our selections from historians almost necessarily cease. During the more than twenty years that have elapsed since that period an abundance of historical material has accumulated, yet but little of this has been worked up into general history, and though there is much good literature extant upon the subject, to quote from it would unduly extend the scope of our work, without commensurate benefit. We shall therefore conclude with a concise statement of the more important recent occurrences in American history, bringing our brief review of events down to date.

Terrible as was the war into which the United States had been plunged, and immense as was the loss of life and treasure involved, it did not end without some compensation for its cost and its horrors. The two disturbing questions which gave rise to the conflict were definitively settled by the triumph of the government. Slavery was abolished: that most fruitful source of sectional dispute no longer existed to vex the minds of legislators and people. The doctrine of State rights, also, had been laid at rest. The country had entered the war as a not very strongly united or clearly defined confederation of States. It emerged as a powerful and much more homogeneous nation. The theory of the right of secession was not likely to be advanced again for many years to come. Other benefits had resulted from the conflict. The national banking system may be named as one of these. The finances of the country were placed on such a solid and secure basis as they had never before occupied.

During the four years of the war the United States had

performed an extraordinary labor. Beginning with the merest nucleus of an army and a navy, and with its arsenals bare of war-material, it had in that time created an army of more than a million disciplined men, as thorough soldiers as ever trod the surface of this planet, and completely supplied it with war-material of the most approved kind. It had revolutionized naval warfare, with its fleet of powerful iron-clads, and had brought into action guns of much greater calibre and longer range than ever before had been employed. Its feats of transportation, of railroad building and destruction, of bridge-building, etc., were unprecedented in magnitude. "The Etowah bridge, six hundred and twenty-five feet long and seventy-five feet high, was built in six days; the Chattahoochee bridge, seven hundred and forty feet long and ninety feet high, was built in four and a half days."

The task of the government had been no light one. It had an immense country to reduce to obedience. From the beginning to the end of the war its armies were constantly on the enemy's soil, and opposed to men as bold and brave as themselves, fighting for their homes and what they deemed their rights, with all the advantages of a posture of defence, and of the natural breastworks of rivers, mountain-chains, forests, and other checks to an invading army. It was not an open country, traversed by practicable roads, like the battle-grounds of Europe, but in great part a wild and difficult region, of vast extent, and so strongly defended by nature as greatly to reduce the necessity of defence by art. History presents no parallel instance of a country of such dimensions and such character, defended by a brave and abundant population, conquered within an equally brief period of time.

There is one important incident of American history which demands attention at this point. The outbreak of

the civil war was taken advantage of by France, England, and Spain, to send an allied expedition to Vera Cruz, with the ostensible purpose of enforcing the payment of the Mexican debt to those countries. But, as it soon appeared that France had other aims, her allies withdrew. In July, 1863, the French entered the city of Mexico, and at once threw off the mask they had worn, proposing Maximilian, an Austrian prince, as a candidate for an imperial throne. The Mexican leaders who had aided the enterprise, with the expectation of gaining power for themselves, found that they had been tricked by their astute ally, and that an empire with a foreign ruler was established in their country.

This empire was destined to be of short duration. The American war ended in the triumph of the North, to the dismay and confusion of the French invaders, and at once the voice of the United States was heard, bidding, in no uncertain phrase, the French to withdraw from the land. Napoleon prevaricated and delayed, but he dared not resist. It was the alternative of war or withdrawal, and war with the United States just then was no desirable undertaking. The French troops were withdrawn, but Maximilian madly remained. The necessary consequence followed. The Mexicans rose, besieged him, and captured him on May 15, 1867. He was tried by court-martial, was condemned to execution, and was shot on June 19, 1867. Thus disastrously ended the only attempt of European powers to control and to establish monarchy in a republican country of America. The Monroe doctrine had been proved to be more than an empty phrase.

Within three hours after Abraham Lincoln expired, Andrew Johnson took the oath of office as the seventeenth President of the United States. The Presidential life of Lincoln had been one long period of civil war.

That of his successor was destined to be one of political difficulty and struggle, in which the war seemed transferred from the nation to the government, and a bitter strife arose between Congress and the President. The task of reconstruction of the conquered territory was no light one, and could hardly, in any case, have been achieved without some degree of controversy, but Johnson, who at first expressed himself in favor of severely punishing the rebellious States, soon placed himself squarely in opposition to Congress.

He declared that a State could not secede, and that none of the Southern States had actually been out of the Union, and took measures of reconstruction of which Congress decidedly disapproved. Johnson's doctrine was ignored by a Congressional declaration that the seceding States actually were out of the Union, and could be readmitted only under terms prescribed by Congress. The Civil Rights Bill, which made negroes citizens of the United States, was enacted April 19, 1866. Shortly afterwards a fourteenth amendment to the Constitution was proposed, guaranteeing equal civil rights to all persons, basing representation on the number of actual voters, declaring that no compensation should be given for emancipated slaves, etc. This was adopted by the requisite number of States, and became a part of the Constitution on July 28, 1868.

As the work of reconstruction proceeded, the breach between the President and Congress grew more decided. Bill after bill was passed over his veto, and finally, on the 24th of February, 1868, the House passed a resolution, by a large majority, to impeach the President for "high crimes and misdemeanors" in the conduct of his office. Of the acts of President Johnson on which this resolution was based, that of the removal of Secretary Stanton from his cabinet office was the most essential. It was in direct

contravention of the Tenure of Office Act, which declared that no removal from office could be made without the consent of the Senate. Stanton protested against this removal, and was sustained in his protest by the Senate, yet was soon afterwards removed again by the President. This brought the quarrel to a climax, and the impeachment proceedings immediately began.

The impeachment trial continued until May, on the 16th of which month the final vote was taken. It resulted in a verdict of "not guilty." The excitement into which the country had been aroused gradually died away, and the "sober second thought" of the community sustained the action of the Senate, though for a time very bitter feeling prevailed.

In pursuance of the "military act," the South, on March 2, 1867, was divided into five districts and placed under military governors. These were made amenable only to the general of the army. This form of government, and the exclusion of the better class of Southern citizens from civil duties, placed all power in the hands of an inferior body of the population, and of Northern men (contemptuously designated "carpet-baggers") who had gone South after the war in search of position and power. The actions of many of these men were little calculated to restore harmony between the two sections of the country. The difficulty was added to by the behavior of bands of Southern reprobates and extremists, who, designating themselves the "Ku Klux Klan," rode about the country in disguise, and sought by acts of violence and outrage to intimidate the negroes and punish all who sympathized with them.

It was highly desirable that this transition state of affairs should come to an end, and the States be reconstructed with governments of their own. This was gradually accomplished by their acceptance of the terms pro-

posed by Congress. By June 24, 1868, all but three had accepted the fourteenth amendment. On the 4th of July of that year a pardon was proclaimed to all who had been engaged in the war, except those actually indicted for criminal acts. On February 27, 1869, a fifteenth amendment to the Constitution was proposed in Congress, forbidding the United States or any State to deny the right of suffrage to any person on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This was passed, submitted to the States, and declared ratified by the requisite majority on March 30, 1870. Early in this same year the representatives of the three States yet outstanding, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, were admitted to Congress, these States having accepted the Constitutional amendments. With this admission the problem of reconstruction was completed, and the country resumed its normal condition, though with highly radical changes in the make-up of its voting population.

The settlement, by the civil war and the succeeding reconstruction measures, of the most disturbing political and social problems of America, opened the way for the consideration of other problems, which had been thrown into the background by the slavery discussion, but which have of recent years been kept prominently before the people of the United States. Among these may be named the labor question and the temperance agitation, the measures of civil service reform and tariff modification, the troubles with the Western Indians, the problems of land and railroad monopoly, and the woman suffrage movement, as evidence that the mind of the public has by no means been at rest, and that the "era of good feeling" is yet some distance from its dawn.

The Indian complications, although now nearly settled, have presented a very difficult problem during the past

twenty years. The struggle with the Eastern Indians had ceased before the outbreak of the war, and the bulk of the survivors had been removed to the Indian Territory. That with the Western Indians has been mainly conducted since the war, though the Comanches of Texas and some other tribes had given trouble before that period. The tribes of the trans-Mississippi region had as yet come little into contact with civilization, and still roamed in savage independence over their native plains. Most of these tribes were peacefully inclined, though some were inveterately warlike, chief among these being the Dakota or Sioux tribes, the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona.

The causes of the troubles with these Indians are too complex to be here considered. They were perhaps inevitable results of the contact of an aggressive civilization with tribes of warlike savages as yet in a state of aboriginal independence. It is unquestionable that the Indians have been treated with great injustice, and that the whites are chiefly responsible for their murderous outbreaks.

There have been several wars with the Sioux tribes, the first being an outbreak in Minnesota in 1862, in which a terrible massacre of the unprepared settlers occurred. The leaders of the outbreak were subsequently executed, and the Indians removed to a reservation in Dakota. A second serious trouble took place in 1866, caused by the persistent passage of gold-seekers through the Sioux reservation. This led to a war of two years' duration. In 1876 the incursions of gold-hunters into the Black Hills, a portion of the Sioux territory, drove the tribes again into war, during which the memorable massacre of General Custer and his troops took place.

The Cheyennes and Arapahoes have given the government no small amount of trouble. In 1864 a large body

of them, while presumably under the protection of the military in Fort Lyon, were attacked by a Colorado State regiment, men, women, and children being killed indiscriminately. A war of nearly two years' duration ensued, which cost the government thirty million dollars and was suppressed only with great difficulty. There have been other troubles with these tribes, but they are now all peaceably settled on reservations.

The Indians of the Pacific slope have been generally peaceful, the only important contest being that known as the "Modoc War." An arbitrary attempt having been made to remove the Modocs, a small tribe of southern Oregon, to a reservation, they resisted, and withdrew to a desolate region known as the "Lava Beds," where they sustained themselves for several months against all the efforts of the soldiers. They were finally subdued, and removed to the Indian Territory.

The most difficult of the Western tribes to deal with have been the bloodthirsty Apaches. Inhabiting the rugged mountain-region on the borders of the United States and Mexico, thorough adepts in concealment, and untamably ferocious, they have committed depredations on both countries at will, and long defied suppression. Very recently the last free band of them has been forced to submit, and measures have been taken that will probably prevent any future outbreak. There is reason to believe that the era of Indian wars is over, and that the only problem remaining to be solved is that of the civilizing of these unquiet wards of the nation.

This problem seems rapidly approaching settlement. The work of missionaries among the tribes has had a useful quieting and Christianizing effect, while the more recent establishment of schools has proved highly satisfactory in its results. In April, 1878, several Indian young

men were placed in the normal school for negroes, at Hampton, Virginia. The effect was so satisfactory that the school has now become a flourishing institution, in which many Indian youths have been educated and civilized. A school for Indian children was established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, whose results have been equally encouraging. Industrial education, as well as mental, is given in these schools, the pupils gaining a useful mechanical training. Numerous schools now exist in the Indian Territory, and the more advanced of the tribes of that region have made marked progress in civilization.

The existing ideas of Indian management tend towards abolishing the tribal organizations and reservation land-holding in common, and to giving the Indians lands in severalty, inalienable for a fixed term of years, the remainder of the reservation tracts to be disposed of for their advantage. Their vagrant hunting habits being thus broken up, and personal ownership of farms generally established, they can be made full citizens of the country, and invested with all the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. The habits of some of the tribes must render this plan, in their cases, difficult of application, but in the majority of instances it seems likely to be successful.

In 1868, General Grant, the military hero of the civil war, was elected to the Presidency, an office which he held during the succeeding eight years. His term of office was signalized by several events of importance. One of these was the completion of the Pacific Railroad, the most stupendous feat in railroad-building that had ever been performed. The last rail of this great work was laid on May 10, 1869, and the race-track of the iron horse was thenceforward complete from ocean to ocean. Since that date several other roads have been laid across

the continent. The first successful ocean telegraph had been completed three years before, in June, 1866.

The most disastrous event of the era in question was the Chicago fire, which broke out on the evening of October 8, 1871, the destruction of property being probably greater than that effected by any other single conflagration known to history. The city then was largely composed of wooden edifices, and contained extensive lumber-yards. A high wind drove the flames through this district, and carried the burning material throughout the business portion of the city. It proved impossible to check its progress; "fire-proof" buildings were destroyed with little less rapidity than their neighbors; for three days the conflagration continued, and ceased only when there was nothing left to burn within its reach. The ground burned over was a mile wide by four and a half miles long, and the property destroyed was valued at two hundred millions of dollars. One hundred thousand people were left homeless by this terrible disaster, and two hundred persons killed. The activity of modern charity was exemplified by contributions to the amount of seven million dollars for the relief of the homeless people. About the same time the forests of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota were devastated by conflagrations of extraordinary and terrible extent, fifteen hundred persons perishing in Wisconsin alone, where many villages were burned. As if to complete this carnival of fire, a disastrous conflagration broke out in the business district of Boston on the 9th of November of the following year. The loss here amounted to seventy-five million dollars, nearly eight hundred buildings, many of them large and costly, being consumed. These conflagrations gave occasion for one of the most striking examples of "Yankee enterprise" that have ever been shown. Almost without delay the process of re-

building the burned districts began, and in a few years scarcely a trace of the disasters remained. The ruined cities rose again from their ashes, more grand, massive, and imposing than before.

Of the political events of the Grant administration we may name the measure for the annexation of San Domingo, which was strongly favored by the President, but was defeated by the efforts of Senator Sumner, and the settlement of the "Alabama Claims" by an International Commission which met at Geneva in 1872. Damages were awarded against Great Britain in favor of the United States to the amount of sixteen million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. In the same year occurred the exposure of the "Credit Mobilier" scheme, an effort to bribe members of Congress in favor of the Pacific Railroad Company, which was highly discreditable to all parties concerned. Other exposures took place in the latter part of Grant's second term which still more greatly shook public confidence. In 1875, Secretary Belknap was impeached by Congress on a charge of fraud and speculation in the disposal of Indian post-traderships. He was acquitted by the Senate. About the same time great revenue frauds were discovered, perpetrated by the "Whiskey Ring" in several Western cities, in which persons connected with the administration were implicated. The trials of the accused parties were conducted with so manifest an effort to shield certain persons as to cause great public distrust.

The Presidential election of November, 1876, gave rise to great excitement and partisan bitterness of feeling, in consequence of the closeness of the vote, and the questionable method of deciding upon the successful candidate. The returns from the States of Florida, Louisiana, Nevada, and Oregon were disputed, and were so

suspicious that it became finally necessary to adopt a special method of deciding the contest. A commission, composed of five members of each House of Congress and five associate judges of the Supreme Court, decided in favor of the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes. Unfortunately, the question was considered from the standpoint of political partisanship rather than from that of equity, and the decision gave great offence to the Democratic party. There were unquestionable frauds on both sides in the conduct of the election, and it was perhaps impossible to arrive at any satisfactory decision.

On the 4th of July, 1876, the first century of the republic ended. This anniversary was observed with the greatest rejoicing throughout the country. Its most important resultant was the great International Exhibition, held at Philadelphia, and continued from May 10 to November 10 of that year. Designed originally to show the immense progress of America in the arts of civilization within the century, it proved eventually of the greatest value in teaching Americans their deficiencies in many directions, as compared with the products of foreign countries, and gave the impulse to a wonderfully rapid progress in certain branches of art which had been comparatively neglected before. Thirty-eight foreign governments took part, the number of exhibitors was greater than in any previous World's Fair except that of Paris in 1867, and the visitors exceeded in number those of any previous exhibition. Although financially the enterprise proved unsuccessful, as an educational institution it was the most profitable enterprise that had ever been undertaken in America.

The Centennial epoch had been preceded by an industrial depression of unsurpassed severity. The era of high prices and thriving business which followed the war pro-

duced a speculative furor which reached its climax in 1873, in which year came a financial crash that carried ruin far and wide throughout the country. The conditions that followed resembled those of 1837, and their story need not be repeated. Years passed ere the business of the country regained its normal proportions. By 1878 the process of contraction had reached its limit, the timidity of capital was overcome, and business once more began to thrive. On December 17 of that year gold reached par value in the gold room of the New York Stock Exchange. For nearly seventeen years (from January 13, 1862) it had been above par, having reached the high premium of 285 on July 11, 1864. On January 1, 1879, the United States government resumed specie payment.

In the Presidential election of 1880 the Republican candidates, James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur, were declared elected. An event succeeded as terrible and distressing as that which followed the second election of Abraham Lincoln. Garfield, like Lincoln, fell by the hand of an assassin, the victim of an effort to reform the method of appointment to office under the government.

The venal doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils" had for fifty years been held as a political axiom, and at every change of administration there had been a general ousting of old and appointment of new office-holders, chosen with little or no thought of their fitness for the positions to be filled, but almost solely on the basis of their political influence. Under such a system dishonesty, incompetence, and neglect of duty necessarily prevailed, until they became evils of the highest grade. During the long continuance in power of the Republican party the changes in office were less frequent and general, yet they by no means ceased, while the false system of appointment continued prevalent.

Gradually a strong public sentiment in favor of a reform in the civil service, of appointment without regard to party affiliation and with regard only to competency and fitness, and of retention in office of all who did their duty, grew up in the country and became an important element in the political situation. It had made its appearance in the Hayes election, and had increased rapidly during the succeeding four years. Garfield was quite as much a candidate of the civil service reform section of the Republican party as of the party as a whole. The party, indeed, became divided into two factions, and, on Garfield's manifesting a decided intention to adopt new principles of appointment to office, Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt, the Senators from New York, and leaders in the "stalwart" section of the party, resigned their seats. On their appeal for re-election they were defeated, and the policy of the President sustained. The public excitement caused by these events stirred up a fanatical and disappointed office-seeker, named Charles J. Guiteau, to a desperate resolve. On July 2, 1881, in the railroad dépôt at Washington, he shot and mortally wounded the President.

There succeeded a long period in which the sympathies of the country and of the whole civilized world were profoundly aroused towards the brave and suffering victim of the assassin. For months he lay between life and death, his patience and heroism under suffering exciting widespread admiration. He died on September 19, a martyr to the cause of reform and public honesty. Since his death the cause for which he died has triumphed in the passage of a bill for the establishment of civil service reform, which requires that appointments and promotions in all the minor offices under the government shall be made by means of a system of examinations, in which competency is designed to be the sole test of fitness, and party

affiliation to be disregarded. The sentiment in favor of this system has grown enormously within ten years: it is now applied to some extent in State and city governments, and promises eventually to become the sole method of appointment to all except the highest offices.

In the Presidential election of 1884 the Democratic party succeeded in putting an end to the Republican rule, which had continued unbroken for twenty-four years. Grover Cleveland, the new President, had won an enviable record for integrity in office, which he has maintained as yet during his Presidency. In this connection we may refer to the remarkable rapidity with which the United States has paid its enormous war debt. This reached its highest point on August 13, 1865, being then \$2,756,431,571.43. At the date of the inauguration of President Cleveland, less than twenty years afterwards, nearly half this debt had been paid, it then amounting to \$1,405,923,352.18.

Of the various special subjects of historical interest which go to make up the record of the recent period, we can but refer to the more prominent. Undoubtedly the most important of these subjects is the labor question, which has kept the country in a state of social war for ten years past and is now becoming an exciting element of the political situation. The combination of the industrial classes into strongly-organized and ably-managed societies is rapidly progressing, and there was never a period in the history of the world in which strikes were so numerous, extensive, and persistent. In the great railroad strike of 1877, between six thousand and seven thousand miles of railroad were held by the strikers, who numbered in all about one hundred thousand men. Severe riots occurred, that at Pittsburg being exceedingly destructive. Here a deadly encounter took place between

the mob and the military, the railroad buildings were set on fire and burned to the ground, and two thousand cars, loaded with freight, were given to the flames, after being broken open and pillaged of their contents.

The more recent strikes have taken place under the auspices of the Knights of Labor, a powerful organization of working-men, based on the principle of combining all trades and all mechanics in one general association. Within the past year or two labor strikes have been numerous and important. Those of 1886 include the great strike on the Missouri Pacific Railroad, which began March 16 and lasted two months, the car-conductors' strike in New York in April, the pork-packers' strike in Chicago, November 6 to 13, and particularly the eight-hour strike in the same city, on May 1. This latter event was taken advantage of by the foreign anarchist element to put into practice its system of social reform, by exploding a dynamite bomb in the midst of a large body of policemen, of whom six were killed and sixty-one wounded by the terrible explosion. Many of the anarchists were arrested, and seven of them have been found guilty of murder and sentenced to death.

In the early part of the present year an extensive strike occurred among the coal-handlers of New York. This, like most of its predecessors, failed. That the condition of affairs which now exists cannot be permanent seems evident, though no clear solution of the difficulty yet appears. Of late the labor party has gained an important political prominence, and possibly in the near future it may become a controlling power in local, if not in State and national, elections.

The temperance question has also grown to be a prominent element in politics. Prohibitory laws now exist in six of the States, while votes on prohibition will be

taken in several other States during the present year. County and town prohibition has been extended in some other States so as to include the greater portion of their population.

Another widely-agitated reform movement, that in favor of woman suffrage, has succeeded in carrying general woman suffrage laws in the Territories of Wyoming, Utah, and Washington, and in the State of Kansas so far as regards municipal elections. The right of women to vote at school district elections has been gained in eleven States.

As to the general industrial advance of America, we need but allude to the great development of agriculture and of cattle-raising in the West, the vast system of land monopoly which has been pursued in that quarter, and the rapid growth of manufacturing interests in the South. The latter section of the country, so long almost exclusively agricultural in its industries and one-sided in its political opinions, promises ere many years to gain a much wider diversity of interests, with a consequent widening of views, and a disappearance of the antagonism which still in some measure exists between South and North.

In respect to the scientific and mechanical progress of America since the outbreak of the civil war, an extraordinary increase has taken place in almost every direction. In every branch of industry and art the progress has been surprisingly rapid; and in the century which has elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution in 1787, the nation then formed has so enormously progressed that it seems rather a new world than a new century into which we are now entering.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

A.

- Aborigines of America, The, *Charles Morris*, i. 28.
 Acadians, The Expulsion of the, *James Hannay*, i. 333.
 America, How the Stamp Act was received in, *Richard Hildreth*, i. 406.
 America in 1776, *Eugene Lawrence*, i. 495.
 America, Political Development in, *Charles Morris*, i. 380.
 America, The Aborigines of, *Charles Morris*, i. 28.
 America, The Discovery of, by Columbus, *Washington Irving*, i. 49.
 America, The Discovery of, by the Northmen, *A. J. Weise*, i. 22.
 American Revolution, The, *Section VII.*, ii. 7.
 Americans, On the Origin of the, *Hubert H. Bancroft*, i. 9.
 Antietam, The Conflict at, *Benson J. Lossing*, ii. 392.
 Army and Country after the War, The, *John Marshall*, ii. 136.
 Arnold on Lake Champlain, *Isaac N. Arnold*, i. 462.
 Arnold, The Treason of, *Jared Sparks*, ii. 106.

B.

- Bacon Rebellion, The, *Charles Campbell*, i. 260.
 Balboa, The Discovery of the Pacific by, *Thomas F. Gordon*, i. 61.
 Battle at Lake George, The, *Francis Parkman*, i. 322.
 Battle of Buena Vista, The, *John Frost*, ii. 337.
 Battle of Bunker Hill, The, *William Cutter*, i. 450.

- Battle of Shiloh, The, *William Swinton*, ii. 407.
 Battle of the Thames, The, *Charles J. Ingersoll*, ii. 243.
 Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis, The, *James Fenimore Cooper*, ii. 94.
 Boston, The Siege of, *David Ramsay*, i. 472.
 Boston Port Bill, The Tea Tax and the, *James Grahame*, i. 431.
 Braddock's Defeat, *John Frost*, i. 313.
 Brown, John, and the Raid upon Harper's Ferry, *Horace Greeley*, ii. 363.
 Buena Vista, The Battle of, *John Frost*, ii. 337.
 Bunker Hill, The Battle of, *William Cutter*, i. 450.
 Burgoyne, The Surrender of, *Edward S. Creasy*, ii. 60.

C.

- Capture and Burning of Washington, The, *Benson J. Lossing*, ii. 260.
 Capture of Long Island and New York, *J. D. Steele*, ii. 19.
 Capture of Philadelphia, The, *Charles Botta*, ii. 38.
 Century, The First Quarter of the, *Charles Morris*, ii. 286.
 Champlain and the Iroquois, *Francis Parkman*, i. 172.
 Champlain, Lake, Arnold on, *Isaac N. Arnold*, i. 462.
 Charge at Lundy's Lane, The, *H. M. Brackenridge*, ii. 248.
 Cherokees, War with the, *Benjamin Trumbull*, i. 368.
 Chesapeake Affair and the Embargo, The, *James Schouler*, ii. 212.
 City of Mexico, Retreat of Cortés from the, *William H. Prescott*, i. 69.

Civil War, Events preceding the, *Charles Morris*, ii. 350.
 Civil War, The Era of, *Section X.*, ii. 363.
 Colonial Hostilities, *Francis X. Garneau*, i. 273.
 Colonies, England and her, *Mary Howitt*, i. 396.
 Colonies of Sir Walter Raleigh, The, *Mary Howitt*, i. 105.
 Colonies, Progress of the, *Section IV.*, i. 217.
 Columbus in Europe, *William Robertson*, i. 40.
 Columbus, The Discovery of America by, *Washington Irving*, i. 49.
 Columbus, The Period before, *Section I.*, i. 9.
 Compromise, The Missouri, *Herman E. von Holst*, ii. 305.
 Conflict at Antietam, The, *Benson J. Lossing*, ii. 392.
 Constitution and the Guerriere, The, *Joel T. Headley*, ii. 226.
 Constitution, The Making of the, *Richard Frothingham*, ii. 147.
 Continental Congress, The, and its Doings, *Edmund Ollier*, i. 480.
 Cornwallis, The Surrender of, *Abiel Holmes*, ii. 127.
 Cortés, Retreat of, from the City of Mexico, *William H. Prescott*, i. 69.
 Cowpens, The, and Guilford Court-House, *George Washington Greene*, ii. 117.

D.

Death of King Philip, The, *Benjamin Church*, i. 225.
 Decatur, Stephen, and the Frigate Philadelphia, *James Fenimore Cooper*, ii. 201.
 Declaration of Independence, The, *Thomas Jefferson*, i. 507.
 Defence of New Orleans, The, *George R. Gleig*, ii. 272.
 Development, National, Progress of, *Section IX.*, ii. 286.
 Development, Political, in America, *Charles Morris*, i. 380.
 Discovery of America by Columbus, The, *Washington Irving*, i. 49.
 Discovery of America by the Northmen, The, *A. J. Weise*, i. 22.

Discovery of the Pacific by Balboa, The, *Thomas F. Gordon*, i. 61.
 Discovery of the St. Lawrence, The, *John McMullen*, i. 89.
 Discovery, The Era of, *Section II.*, i. 40.

E.

Embargo, The Chesapeake Affair and the, *James Schouler*, ii. 212.
 England and her Colonies, *Mary Howitt*, i. 396.
 Era of Civil War, The, *Section X.*, ii. 363.
 Era of Discovery, The, *Section II.*, i. 40.
 Era of Settlement, The, *Section III.*, i. 114.
 Erie, Lake, Perry's Victory on, *Theodore Roosevelt*, ii. 234.
 Europe, Columbus in, *William Robertson*, i. 40.
 Events preceding the Civil War, *Charles Morris*, ii. 350.
 Expedition against Fort Schuyler, The, *Benson J. Lossing*, ii. 48.
 Expulsion of the Acadians, The, *James Hannay*, i. 333.

F.

Farragut on the Mississippi, *Joel T. Headley*, ii. 426.
 First Quarter of the Century, The, *Charles Morris*, ii. 286.
 First Shots of the Revolution, The, *Thomas Wentworth Higginson*, i. 444.
 Fort Schuyler, The Expedition against, *Benson J. Lossing*, ii. 48.
 Fort Sumter Bombarded, *Orville J. Victor*, ii. 372.
 Franklin in France, *Jared Sparks*, ii. 82.
 French and Indian War, The, *Section V.*, i. 301.
 French and Indian War, The Opening of the, *Jared Sparks*, i. 304.
 French Protestants, The Massacre of the, *Walter Besant*, i. 97.
 Fu-sang, The Kingdom of, *S. Wells Williams*, i. 18.

G.

Georgia, The Spanish Invasion of, *William Bacon Stevens*, i. 284.

Gettysburg, Pickett's Charge at, *Comte de Paris*, ii. 467.

"Grand Model" Government, The, *Hugh Williamson*, i. 203.

Growth of Discontent, The, *Henry Cabot Lodge*, i. 424.

Guerriere, The Constitution and the, *Joel T. Headley*, ii. 226.

Guilford Court-House, The Cowpens and, *George Washington Greene*, ii. 117.

H.

Harper's Ferry, John Brown and the Raid on, *Horace Greeley*, ii. 363.

Hernando de Soto, *N. D'Anvers*, i. 80.

History, Review of Recent, *Charles Morris*, ii. 520.

How the Stamp Act was received in America, *Richard Hildreth*, i. 406.

I.

Independence, The Declaration of, *Thomas Jefferson*, i. 507.

Indian Massacre in Virginia, The, *Robert R. Howison*, i. 130.

Indian War, The French and, *Section V.*, i. 301.

Indian War, The French and, Opening of the, *Jared Sparks*, i. 304.

Indians, Western, War with the, *James Steward*, ii. 180.

Insurrection in Pennsylvania, The Whiskey, *John C. Hamilton*, ii. 161.

Introductory Remarks, i. 114, 301.

Iroquois, Champlain and the, *Francis Parkman*, i. 172.

J.

Jamestown Colony, John Smith and the, *Charles Campbell*, i. 116.

John Brown and the Raid on Harper's Ferry, *Horace Greeley*, ii. 363.

John Smith and the Jamestown Colony, *Charles Campbell*, i. 116.

K.

Kentucky, The Pioneer of, *John S. C. Abbott*, ii. 169.

King Philip, The Death of, *Benjamin Church*, i. 225.

Kingdom of Fu-sang, The, *S. Wells Williams*, i. 18.

L.

Lake George, The Battle at, *Francis Parkman*, i. 322.

Landing of the Pilgrims, The, *John Gorham Palfrey*, i. 145.

Lee's Army, The Last March of, *Armistead L. Long*, ii. 500.

Leisler Revolt in New York, The, *William Smith*, i. 251.

Long Island and New York, Capture of, *J. D. Steele*, ii. 19.

Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, *Thomas B. Van Horne*, ii. 452.

Louisiana and the Natchez, *Le Page Du Pratz*, i. 208.

Louisiana, The Purchase of, *John Bach McMaster*, ii. 189.

Lundy's Lane, The Charge at, *H. M. Brackenridge*, ii. 248.

M.

Making of the Constitution, The, *Richard Frothingham*, ii. 147.

March to the Sea, Sherman's, *William T. Sherman*, ii. 482.

Maryland, The Settlement of, *J. Thomas Scharf*, i. 138.

Massacre in Virginia, The Indian, *Robert R. Howison*, i. 130.

Massacre of the French Protestants, The, *Walter Besant*, i. 97.

Merrimack, The Monitor and the, *John W. Draper*, ii. 384.

Mexico, Retreat of Cortés from the City of, *William H. Prescott*, i. 69.

Missionary Ridge, Lookout Mountain and, *Thomas B. Van Horne*, ii. 452.

Mississippi, Farragut on the, *Joel T. Headley*, ii. 426.

Missouri Compromise, The, *Herman E. von Holst*, ii. 305.

Monitor and the Merrimack, The, *John W. Draper*, ii. 384.

Montcalm at Quebec, Wolfe and, *Washington Irving*, i. 355.

N.

Natchez, Louisiana and the, *Le Page Du Pratz*, i. 208.

National Development, Progress of, *Section IX.*, ii. 286.
 Negro Plot in New York, The, *Mary L. Booth*, i. 292.
 New England, Religious Dissensions in, *William Robertson*, i. 154.
 New England, The Tyrant of, *Benjamin Trumbull*, i. 243.
 New Orleans, The Defence of, *George R. Gleig*, ii. 272.
 New York, Capture of Long Island and, *J. D. Steele*, ii. 19.
 New York, The Leisler Revolt in, *William Smith*, i. 251.
 New York, The Negro Plot in, *Mary L. Booth*, i. 292.
 New York, The Settlement of, *E. B. O'Callaghan*, i. 182.
 Northmen, The Discovery of America by the, *A. J. Weise*, i. 22.
 Nullification, The Ordinance of, *Edward Everett*, ii. 317.

O.

Opening of the French and Indian War, The, *Jared Sparks*, i. 304.
 Ordinance of Nullification, The, *Edward Everett*, ii. 317.
 Origin of the Americans, On the, *Hubert H. Bancroft*, i. 9.

P.

Pacific, The Discovery of the, by Balboa, *Thomas F. Gordon*, i. 61.
 Parliamentary Examination, A, *Benjamin Franklin*, i. 414.
 Pennsylvania, The Whiskey Insurrection in, *John C. Hamilton*, ii. 161.
 Pequot War, The, *G. H. Hollister*, i. 162.
 Period before Columbus, The, *Section I.*, i. 9.
 Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, *Theodore Roosevelt*, ii. 234.
 Persecution of the Quakers, The, *James Grahame*, i. 217.
 Philadelphia, Stephen Decatur and the Frigate, *James Fenimore Cooper*, ii. 201.
 Philadelphia, The Capture of, *Charles Botta*, ii. 38.
 Philip, The Death of King, *Benjamin Church*, i. 225.

Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg, *Comte de Paris*, ii. 467.
 Pilgrims, The Landing of the, *John Gorham Palfrey*, i. 145.
 Pioneer of Kentucky, The, *John S. C. Abbott*, ii. 169.
 Political Development in America, *Charles Morris*, i. 380.
 Progress of the Colonies, *Section IV.*, i. 217.
 Progress of National Development, *Section IX.*, ii. 286.
 Protestants, The Massacre of the French, *Walter Besant*, i. 97.
 Purchase of Louisiana, The, *John Bach McMaster*, ii. 189.

Q.

Quaker Colony, The, *John Stoughton*, i. 193.
 Quakers, The Persecution of the, *James Grahame*, i. 217.
 Quebec, Wolfe and Montcalm at, *Washington Irving*, i. 355.

R.

Raleigh, The Colonies of Sir Walter, *Mary Howitt*, i. 105.
 Rebellion, The Bacon, *Charles Campbell*, i. 260.
 Religious Dissensions in New England, *William Robertson*, i. 154.
 Retreat of Cortés from the City of Mexico, *William H. Prescott*, i. 69.
 Review of Recent History, *Charles Morris*, ii. 520.
 Revolution, The American, *Section VII.*, ii. 7.
 Revolution, The First Shots of the, *Thomas Wentworth Higginson*, i. 444.
 Revolution, The Threshold of the, *Section VI.*, i. 380.

S.

Salem Witchcraft, The, *George Bancroft*, i. 233.
 Schuyler, The Expedition against Fort, *Benson J. Lossing*, ii. 48.
 Seminole War, The, *George R. Fairbanks*, ii. 328.

Serapis, The Bon Homme Richard and the, *James Fenimore Cooper*, ii. 94.
 Settlement of Maryland, The, *J. Thomas Scharf*, i. 138.
 Settlement of New York, The, *E. B. O'Callaghan*, i. 182.
 Settlement, The Era of, *Section III.*, i. 114.
 Sherman's March to the Sea, *William T. Sherman*, ii. 482.
 Shiloh, The Battle of, *William Swinton*, ii. 407.
 Siege of Boston, The, *David Ramsay*, i. 472.
 Siege of Vicksburg, The, *Adam Badeau*, ii. 436.
 Smith, John, and the Jamestown Colony, *Charles Campbell*, i. 116.
 Soto, Hernando de, *N. D'Anvers*, i. 80.
 Spanish Invasion of Georgia, The, *William Bacon Stevens*, i. 284.
 Stamp Act, How received in America, *Richard Hildreth*, i. 406.
 St. Lawrence, The Discovery of the, *John McMullen*, i. 89.
 Sumter, Fort, Bombarded, *Orville J. Victor*, ii. 372.
 Surrender of Burgoyne, The, *Edward S. Creasy*, ii. 60.
 Surrender of Cornwallis, The, *Abiel Holmes*, ii. 127.

T.

Tea Tax, The, and the Boston Port Bill, *James Grahame*, i. 431.
 Thames, The Battle of the, *Charles J. Ingersoll*, ii. 243.
 Three Years of Warfare, *Abiel Holmes*, i. 344.
 Threshold of the Revolution, The, *Section VI.*, i. 380.
 Treason of Arnold, The, *Jared Sparks*, ii. 106.
 Trenton, The Victory at, *Henry B. Carrington*, ii. 27.
 Two Years of War, *Charles Morris*, ii. 221.
 Tyrant of New England, The, *Benjamin Trumbull*, i. 243.

U.

Union, The, Founded and Sustained, *Section VIII.*, ii. 136.

V.

Valley Forge, Washington at, *Washington Irving*, ii. 73.
 Vicksburg, The Siege of, *Adam Badeau*, ii. 436.
 Victory at Trenton, The, *Henry B. Carrington*, ii. 27.
 Victory on Lake Erie, Perry's, *Theodore Roosevelt*, ii. 234.
 Virginia, The Indian Massacre in, *Robert R. Howison*, i. 130.

W.

War, Civil, Events preceding the, *Charles Morris*, ii. 350.
 War, The Era of Civil, *Section X.*, ii. 363.
 War, The French and Indian, *Section V.*, i. 301.
 War, The Opening of the French and Indian, *Jared Sparks*, i. 304.
 War, The Pequot, *G. H. Hollister*, i. 162.
 War, The Seminole, *George R. Fairbanks*, ii. 328.
 War, Two Years of, *Charles Morris*, ii. 221.
 War with the Cherokees, *Benjamin Trumbull*, i. 368.
 War with the Western Indians, *James Steward*, ii. 180.
 Warfare, Three Years of, *Abiel Holmes*, i. 344.
 Washington at Valley Forge, *Washington Irving*, ii. 73.
 Washington, The Capture and Burning of, *Benson J. Lossing*, ii. 260.
 Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, The, *John C. Hamilton*, ii. 161.
 Witchcraft, The Salem, *George Bancroft*, i. 233.
 Wolfe and Montcalm at Quebec, *Washington Irving*, i. 355.

INDEX OF AUTHORS.

A.

- ABBOTT, JOHN S. C., *The Pioneer of Kentucky*, ii. 169.
ARNOLD, ISAAC N., *Arnold on Lake Champlain*, i. 462.

B.

- BADÉAU, ADAM, *The Siege of Vicksburg*, ii. 436.
BANCROFT, GEORGE, *The Salem Witchcraft*, i. 233.
BANCROFT, HUBERT H., *On the Origin of the Americans*, i. 9.
BESANT, WALTER, *The Massacre of the French Protestants*, i. 97.
BOOTH, MARY L., *The Negro Plot in New York*, i. 292.
BOTTA, CHARLES, *The Capture of Philadelphia*, ii. 38.
BRACKENRIDGE, H. M., *The Charge at Lundy's Lane*, ii. 248.

C.

- CAMPBELL, CHARLES, *John Smith and the Jamestown Colony*, i. 116; *The Bacon Rebellion*, i. 260.
CARRINGTON, HENRY B., *The Victory at Trenton*, ii. 27.
CHURCH, BENJAMIN, *The Death of King Philip*, i. 225.
COOPER, JAMES FENIMORE, *The Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis*, ii. 94; *Stephen Decatur and the Frigate Philadelphia*, ii. 201.
CREASY, EDWARD S., *The Surrender of Burgoyne*, ii. 60.
CUTTER, WILLIAM, *The Battle of Bunker Hill*, i. 450.

D.

- D'ANVERS, N., *Hernando de Soto*, i. 80.
DRAPER, JOHN WILLIAM, *The Monitor and the Merrimack*, ii. 383.
DU PRATZ, LE PAGE, *Louisiana and the Natchez*, i. 208.

E.

- EVERETT, EDWARD, *The Ordinance of Nullification*, ii. 317.

F.

- FAIRBANKS, GEORGE R., *The Seminole War*, ii. 328.
FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN, *A Parliamentary Examination*, i. 414.
FROST, JOHN, *Braddock's Defeat*, i. 313; *The Battle of Buena Vista*, ii. 337.
FROTHINGHAM, RICHARD, *The Making of the Constitution*, ii. 147.

G.

- GARNEAU, FRANCIS X., *Colonial Hostilities*, i. 273.
GLEIG, GEORGE R., *The Defence of New Orleans*, ii. 272.
GORDON, THOMAS F., *The Discovery of the Pacific by Balboa*, i. 61.
GRAHAME, JAMES, *The Persecution of the Quakers*, i. 217; *The Tea Tax and the Boston Port Bill*, i. 431.
GREELEY, HORACE, *John Brown and the Raid on Harper's Ferry*, ii. 363.
GREENE, GEORGE WASHINGTON, *The Cowpens and Guilford Court-House*, ii. 117.

H.

- HAMILTON, JOHN C., The Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, ii. 161.
 HANNAY, JAMES, The Expulsion of the Acadians, i. 333.
 HEADLEY, JOEL T., The Constitution and the Guerriere, ii. 226; Farragut on the Mississippi, ii. 426.
 HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH, The First Shots of the Revolution, i. 444.
 HILDRETH, RICHARD, How the Stamp Act was received in America, i. 406.
 HOLLISTER, G. H., The Pequot War, i. 162.
 HOLMES, ABIEL, Three Years of Warfare, i. 344; The Surrender of Cornwallis, ii. 127.
 HOLST, HERMAN E. VON, The Missouri Compromise, ii. 305.
 HOWISON, ROBERT R., The Indian Massacre in Virginia, i. 130.
 HOWITT, MARY, The Colonies of Sir Walter Raleigh, i. 105; England and her Colonies, i. 396.

I.

- INGERSOLL, CHARLES J., The Battle of the Thames, ii. 243.
 IRVING, WASHINGTON, The Discovery of America by Columbus, i. 49; Wolfe and Montcalm at Quebec, i. 355; Washington at Valley Forge, ii. 73.

J.

- JEFFERSON, THOMAS, The Declaration of Independence, i. 507.

L.

- LAWRENCE, EUGENE, America in 1776, i. 495.
 LODGE, HENRY CABOT, The Growth of Discontent, i. 424.
 LONG, ARMISTEAD L., The Final March of Lee's Army, ii. 500.
 LOSSING, BENSON J., The Expedition against Fort Schuyler, ii. 48; The

Capture and Burning of Washington, ii. 260; The Conflict at Antietam, ii. 392.

M.

- MCMASTER, JOHN BACH, The Purchase of Louisiana, ii. 189.
 McMULLEN, JOHN, The Discovery of the St. Lawrence, i. 89.
 MARSHALL, JOHN, The Army and Country after the War, ii. 136.
 MORRIS, CHARLES, The Aborigines of America, i. 28; Political Development in America, i. 380; Two Years of War, ii. 221; The First Quarter of the Century, ii. 286; Events preceding the Civil War, ii. 350; Review of Recent History, ii. 520.

O.

- O'CALLAGHAN, E. B., The Settlement of New York, i. 182.
 OLLIER, EDMUND, The Continental Congress and its Doings, i. 480.

P.

- PALFREY, JOHN GORHAM, The Landing of the Pilgrims, i. 145.
 PARIS, COMTE DE, Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg, ii. 467.
 PARKMAN, FRANCIS, Champlain and the Iroquois, i. 172; The Battle at Lake George, i. 322.
 PRESCOTT, WILLIAM H., Retreat of Cortés from the City of Mexico, i. 69.

R.

- RAMSAY, DAVID, The Siege of Boston, i. 472.
 ROBERTSON, WILLIAM, Columbus in Europe, i. 40; Religious Dissensions in New England, i. 154.
 ROOSEVELT, THEODORE, Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, ii. 234.

S.

- SCHARF, J. THOMAS, The Settlement of Maryland, i. 138.

SCHOULER, JAMES, The Chesapeake
Affair and the Embargo, ii. 212.

SHERMAN, WILLIAM T., Sherman's
March to the Sea, ii. 482.

SMITH, WILLIAM, The Leisler Revolt
in New York, i. 251.

SPARKS, JARED, The Opening of the
French and Indian War, i. 304;
Franklin in France, ii. 82; The
Treason of Arnold, ii. 106.

STEELE, J. D., Capture of Long Island
and New York, ii. 19.

STEVENS, WILLIAM BACON, The Span-
ish Invasion of Georgia, i. 284.

STEWART, JAMES, War with the West-
ern Indians, ii. 180.

STOUGHTON, JOHN, The Quaker Colony,
i. 193.

SWINTON, WILLIAM, The Battle of
Shiloh, ii. 407.

T.

TRUMBULL, BENJAMIN, The Tyrant of
New England, i. 243; War with the
Cherokees, i. 368.

V.

VAN HORNE, THOMAS B., Lookout
Mountain and Missionary Ridge,
ii. 452.

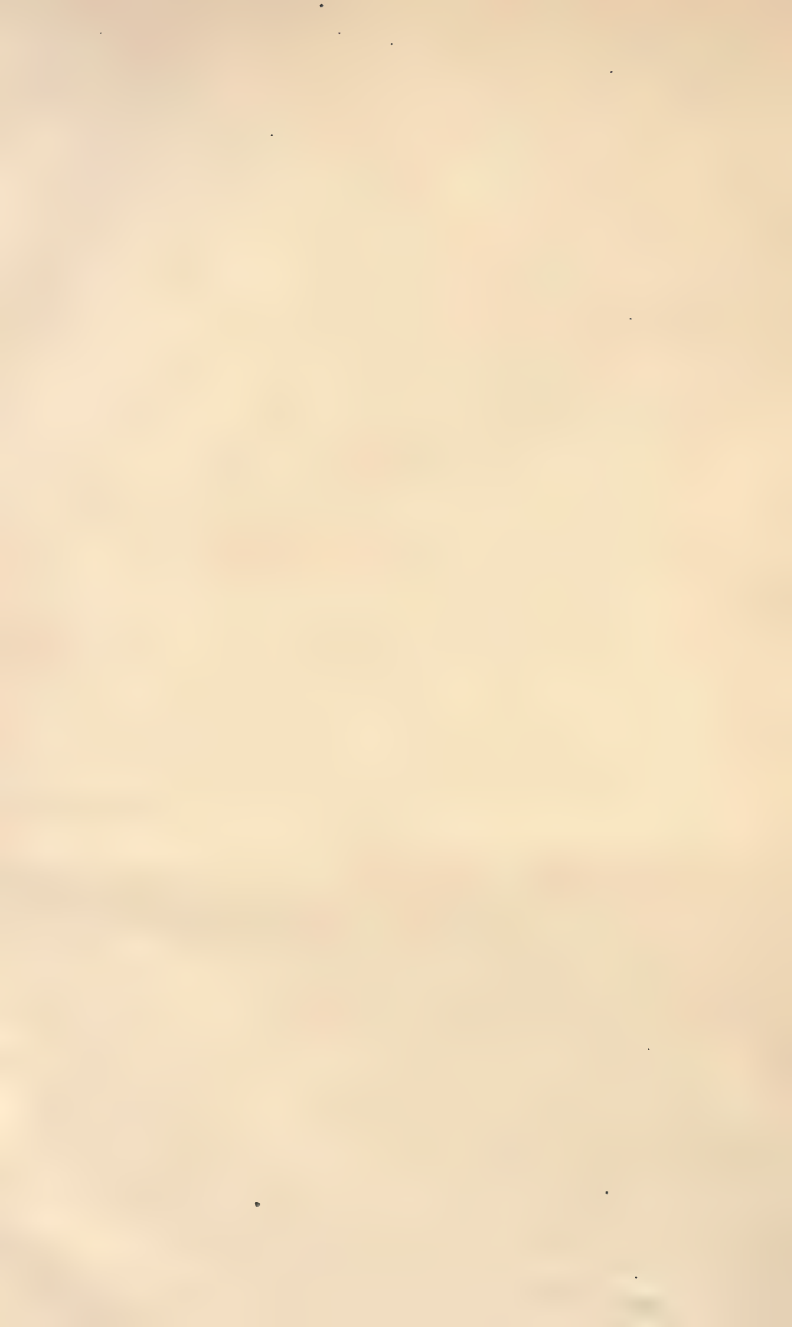
VICTOR, ORVILLE J., Fort Sumter
Bombarded, ii. 372.

W.

WEISE, A. J., The Discovery of Amer-
ica by the Northmen, i. 22.

WILLIAMS, S. WELLS, The Kingdom
of Fu-sang, i. 18.

WILLIAMSON, HUGH, The "Grand
Model" Government, i. 203.



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